

THE BAHMANIS OF THE DECCAN

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THE BAHMANIS OF THE DECCAN

AN OBJECTIVE STUDY

By
HAROON KHAN SHERWANI

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DEDICATED

*To the memory of my father
Haji Muhammad Musa Khan Sherwani
Author, Patriot and a Profound
Believer in God
(1871—1944)*

~~236~~

By the same Author

1. Urdu Translation of Adolf Holm's *History of Greece*, in four volumes ; Osmania University Translation Bureau, Hyderabad Deccan; 1924-1936
2. *Mabadiy-e Siyasiyat*, or 'Elements of Political Science,' in Urdu; 2nd Edition, Jami'ah Milliah, Jamianagar, Delhi; 1939
3. *A Short History of the Deccan*, in Urdu; Department of Public Instruction, Hyderabad Deccan; 9th Edition; 1950
4. *Mahmud Gawan, the Great Bahmani Wazir* ; Kitabistan, Allahabad ; 1941
5. *Nashriyat*, or 18 Broadcast Addresses, in Urdu; Messrs. Abdul Qadir and Sons, Hyderabad Deccan; 1944
6. *Yorup Jang se pahle*, or Europe before the War, in Urdu; Idara-i Adabiyat-i Urdu, Hyderabad Deccan; 1944
7. *Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration*, 2nd Edition, Shaikh M. Ashraf, Lahore, 1946
8. *The Bahmani Kingdom*, National Information and Publication; Ltd.; Bombay, 1947
9. *Sidelights on the Growth of Progressive Political Thought in India*, Presidential Address, 15th Indian Political Science Conference, 1952.
10. *Siyasiyat ke Usul*, or Principles of Political Science in three parts, in Urdu, Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Aligarh, 1953
11. English Translation of Reinaud's '*Incursions des Sarrazins en France, Piemont et la Suisse*,' ready for the Press

And numerous Papers on Deccan History and Political theories.

P R E F A C E

BAHMANI history covers a very important part of the history of Medieval India and corresponds to the period of a unified Deccan. Pre-Bahmani Medieval Deccan extended to just half a century when the land was governed rather precariously by the Sultans of Delhi, while the centuries between the fall of the Bahmanis and the establishment of Asafjahi rule was a period of complete disunion.

Except for Major King's History of the Bahmani Dynasty (which was only an epitomised translation of Syed 'Ali Tabataba's *Burhan-i Ma'asir*), and the two English translations of Ferishta, no detailed history of the two centuries of Bahmani rule has so far appeared in the English language. The author of the present work makes bold to say that perhaps the first attempt in that line was made by him in his book, *Mahmud Gawan, the Great Bahmani Wazir*, published in 1941, and he is grateful to the Presidents of the sessions of the Indian History Congress and the All-India Oriental Conference held in December of that year to have commented on the book in very favourable terms in their Presidential Addresses.

As will be noticed, the present work deals with cultural as well as purely political history of the earlier part of Medieval Deccan, and most of the chapters will be found divided in two sections, one generally dealing with the cultural and the other with the political aspects of the period under review. Special stress is laid on chronology and no pains have been spared to achieve complete accuracy. The author

believes that the great mission of the Bahmanis was the co-ordination of the different groups forming the population of the Deccan and that they succeeded in the attempt to a large extent : this phenomenon and its cultural reactions in the realm of art, architecture and the general life of the people have described as objectively as possible.

While acknowledging the receipt of the author's book on Mahmud Gawan in January 1942 the late lamented Shrimati Sarojini Naidu wrote to the author thus :

"You have crowned your immense and elaborate labours of research by producing one of the most vivid and delightful historical portraits I have ever come across. Against the ever-changing pageant of medieval times your hero stands out singularly arresting and life-like through the medium of your words . . ."

The author feels proud that this appreciation should have come from a great lady—perhaps the greatest lady modern India has produced. He has taken the liberty to mention this here as the age of Mahmud Gawan forms only a small, though a glorious part of the history of the Bahmanis which is now being presented to the learned public.

The author regrets that it was not possible to use diacritical marks for the purpose of accurate transliteration of Arabic and Persian words, but an attempt has been made to near accuracy by the use of *gh*, *kh*, *zh* and ' for غ, خ, ز and ع respectively. Whenever double dates are given the first is meant to be the Hijri and the second the Christian date, while the hyphen just before a Christian date indicates that the month or the year following the hyphen ended in the

corresponding Hijri month or year.

As will be noticed, each chapter is followed by fairly detailed notes. The book has broken entirely new ground, and while some of the notes are explanatory in their nature others were found necessary in case our authorities differed among themselves or were at variance with numismatic evidence. These notes have been inserted *after* the text of each chapter in order that the general reader may not be burdened by them while the research worker may be able to find plenty of material for further study.

H. K. S.

HYDERABAD - DECCAN

March 30, 1953

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Abbreviations

M.H.—Mahdi Hasan: 'Rise and Fall of Muhammad b. Tughluq

Bar.—Ziyau'd-din Barani: 'Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh'

Rih.—Ibn-i Batutah, *Rihlah*, tr. by Gibbs

Epig. Indo-Mos.—Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica

Zaf.—'Abdu'l-lah al-Makki : 'Zafaru'l-Walih'

Isami.—'Isami : 'Futuhu's-Salatin'

Munt.—Badayuni : 'Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh'

J.R.A.S.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

Fer.—Abul'l-Qasim Ferishta: 'Gulshan-i Ibrahimi'

I.B.—Ibn-i Batutah: *Rihlah*

Tab.—Nizamu'd-din Ahmad: 'Tabaqat-i Akbar Shahi'

C.I.H.—Cambridge History of India

Origin.—Venkataramayya : 'Vijayanagar, Origin of the City and Empire'

Taz.—Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi : 'Tazkiratu'l-Muluk'

Bur.—Syed 'Ali Tabataba : *Burhan-i Ma'asir*

Ind. Ant.—Indian Antiquary

RISE OF THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

THE KINGDOM IN 1358 MAHAPATISABAD
THE KINGDOM IN 1481 MAHAPATISABAD

FURTEST POINTS REACHED—
MANDU, RAMESHWARAM,
JAJPUR, KANCHI.

CAPITALS OF PROVINCES
CARVED OUT BY MAHMUD
GAWAN, UNDERLINED.



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CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS

MAN AND HIS SURROUNDINGS

THE proposition that there is an immediate relationship of Geography with the story of human experience needs no proof. This aspect of the question has, however, been overlooked by some historians and political scientists of great note, and to-day one is apt to forget what a remarkable effect the configuration of the earth's crust, itself the effect of numerous causes, has on the habits of the people and their ways of thought. The tradition of Ibn-i-Khaldun stressing the effect of climate on human habitat was continued by Baron de Montesquieu in the eighteenth century, and thinkers began to lay down their ideas not in terms of an abstract "average" man who hardly ever existed, but in terms of the living man of flesh and blood who was by his very nature a creature of his environments of which perhaps the most important and lasting aspect is geographical.

As is well-known, Geography simply means a description of the earth. But earth forms—crust as well as the outer core—are themselves the result of a number of natural phenomena which go on changing these forms imperceptibly almost from day to day, although it might take thousands

and millions of years for the change to be at all significant. There are, no doubt certain almost automatic changes which are taking place before our very eyes, such as changes in the courses of rivers and erosions of the coast-line by the action of the winds and sea ; but there are other changes in the structure of the earth which are too lasting to be taken into account by history, and which have changed the face of the earth and formed the basis of the character of the inhabitants of a particular region. Thus the formation of mountains the lavaic formation of the earth, the course of rivers, the width of their valleys and basins, the proximity to the sea, elevation, slope, latitude and the resultant precipitation—all these have a definite and visible effect on the life and character of the people as well as on the experiences of their collective community life which is, after all, history.

THE SUB-CONTINENT OF INDIA.

It is not necessary here to discuss the geography of the sub-continent of India in any detail and its bearing on its history, but reference may be made here to some geographical phenomena, as they will clarify the position of the Deccan itself. Perhaps the most prominent feature of the Eurasian continent is the land of India hanging gracefully southwards nearly in the middle of the great mass of land with its eastern and western coasts separated in the north by 2,000 odd miles from each other, slowly and artistically converging towards each other till the southernmost extremities of the two coast lines touch each other at Cape Comorin where the Arabian Sea is joined on to the outlet of the Bay of Bengal forming the northern limit of the Indian Ocean. While this

sub-continent containing four hundred millions of the human race is surrounded south of 25° N by the sea, it is separated by the neighbouring lands lying north of that latitude by the biggest mass of rock formation in the world, the Himalayan Wall, ranging 1,500 miles between the gorges of the Indus in the west and the Brahmaputra in the east from 150 to 300 miles in width. Apart from being a most effective barrier to man coming from due north it has been one of the causes of keeping away intense cold from the plains of Hindustan, for otherwise Indian climate would have been at least as cold as the southern provinces of China proper.

From about 95° E this mass takes a sharp turn southwards forming the Yomas of Burma which are not as high as the northern mass of the Himalayas, yet are assisted by wet monsoons helping the growth of dense forests, and the two geographical phenomena together have successfully barred the access of intruders from the east and north-east. The progress of the mountain passes to the west of the gorge of the Indus is different in essence to that in the east, for instead of being concentrated it spreads out to the north-east and south-west with its apex in the Great Pamir Plateau, and as it spreads it loses its height. At some places this height is lost to the extent that passes such as the *Khyber* and the *Bolan* are formed. These passes, however, reach considerable heights, for instance the *Khyber* is 2,500 ft. and the *Bolan* 5,000 ft. above sea level.

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

Whatever may be said of the variety in races, languages, religious and social habits of the people of this sub-continent

there is no doubt that from the point of Geography there is a certain amount of unity attached to the country through its natural borders, the Sulaiman Mountains in the North-west, the Himalayas in the north, the Assamese and Burman ranges in the north-east and the sea on all other sides. It is inevitable however, that the huge country should have a diversity of climes. In the north there is a large plain extending from the north western mountains to Assamese and Burman ranges in the north-east with a length of 2,000 miles and reaching 1,000 miles breadth at times. This plain extends with certain breaks right up to the rib of the Vindhya range which is situated almost in the centre. The Vindhyas are neither too high nor too continuous but the whole space is full of desert and even broken barriers are at times impassable to large armies with the result that the intruder from the north prefers to flank them in the east via Bengal, Orissa and the Northern Sarkars or in the west through Gujarat and *Khandesh*.

THE LAVAIG PLATEAU

Coming to peninsular India proper we find a huge equilateral triangle turned upside down with its base running parallel to the Vindhyas and the Tropics of Cancer and its apex at Cape Comorin. But this in itself cannot be said to be one unit, for in Malwa the mountains slope westwards and its two great rivers, the Nerbada and Tapti both flow into the Arabian Sea through narrow mountain gorges, while the rivers of the Deccan proper flow eastward through broad and flat basins. The real geographical Deccan may be said to commence with the Ajanta range where the

ancient undisturbed rock begins to extend over the centre of the peninsula right up to the Nilgiris and the Palghat Gap. This plateau which is partly covered by a huge semicircle of ancient lava flow, extending like a ten days' moon with one horn at Nagpur and the other at Goa over an area of two million square miles, is remarkable from the geographical point of view. Lava has disintegrated in the course of the millenia into what is termed black cotton soil, a soil which peculiarly retains moisture much longer than any other soil, and thus is extremely fertile and productive. Many historical phenomena can be explained by the presence of this fertile soil, and the struggle for Berar between those who hold Malwa and those who hold the Deccan plateau is explained by the fact that Berar forms almost the pivot of the lavaic crescent and is therefore always the butt of the greedy eyes of the northern neighbours. During the Bahmani period the struggle centres round the Mahur which is just outside Berar and Kherla which is just inside that territory, and this struggle recurs time and again in the war between Malwa and the Deccan. The importance of the help given by Gujarat to the Deccan against Malwa in the time of Muhammad III can only be understood with reference to lavaic Berar, as probably Sultan Mahmud Begara of Gujarat rightly thought that once Malwa annexed Berar in the face of the Deccan she would be rich enough and strong enough to overpower her western neighbour.

These great lavaic uplands end abruptly in the Western Ghats with a sheer fall of nearly 4,000 feet thus forming a natural barrier of defence for the homeland of the Marathas, the Desh, from which the race spread first over the lavaic

focus from Nagpur to Goa and thence right up to Delhi in the north, Bengal in the east and Tanjore in the south. The natural fort-like territory of the Konkan and the Desh with its mountain ramparts in the east and the moat of the Arabian Sea in the west was the nursery of a virile race which kept its independence from the Bahmanis in spite of the corridors to the sea ports of Dabul and Chaul. The existence of these bare corridors of Bahmani sovereignty is proved by the fact that the southernmost extremity of the lavaic country, Goa, had to be reconquered by Mahmud Gawan, and before he could reach that "envy of the ports of India" he had to subdue a number of intervening forts like Machal and Sangameshwar, forts on natural eminences and surrounded by impassable forests which the great soldier-minister could cross only with the greatest difficulty. The same story was repeated in the north; for it was the dense jungle between Chakan and the sea to which the ill-fated *Khalaf* Hasan Basri was lured and murdered by the Maratha chief, Raja Shirke. The truth is that except for outlets like Dabul and Chaul, and later Goa, the Bahmani hold on the coastal plain could not have been at all effective, for otherwise it is difficult to explain why it was impossible to prevent sea-marauders from looting Bahmani ships bound for the west, a fact which made Mahmud Gawan undertake his expeditions into the Maharashtra.

THE SLOPE EASTWARDS

The lavaic plateau, while it has a drop of nearly 4,000 feet in the west, has a very gentle slope eastward and takes more than three hundred miles to reach the same level as the

eastern plains. The plateau is almost level as it leaves the ghats, but about 75° east it has a ridge about 50 miles wide, and it is on the southern slopes of this ridge that we find the historical towns of *Khuldabad* on the edge of the precipice which is studded with the Ellora caves at its base, *Daulatabad* in the middle and *Aurangabad* at the southern end. From *Aurangabad* the slope eastwards is so gentle that is almost imperceptible, but it is flanked on the south by a ridge over 2,000-2,500 ft. above sea level extending from the ghats through *Ahmadnagar* right up to the triune town of *Golconda-Hyderabad-Secunderabad*, which forms its eastern most boundary. In the intervening expanse of the ridge we find *Bidar*, itself lying on a high eminence with a sheer drop of about a thousand feet to the south, and it is this which makes the climate of *Bidar* so salubrious and bracing as to have made *Ahmad Shah I* declare it to be the capital of the *Bahmani* state in preference to sultry and arid *Gulbarga* lying on the other side of the great ridge. No doubt *Muhammad I* had in his mind the strategic importance of *Golconda* as the easternmost point of the chain extending from 73° E eastwards when he agreed to make that town the frontier post of the *Bahmani* state, and it was only a matter of time for the *Bahmanis* to descend on to the plains of *Tilangana* and annex that portion of the *Deccan* to their dominions.

THE BASINS OF THE GODAVARI AND THE KRISHNA

These highlands are important in another way as well, for they divide the basins of the two most important river systems of the *Deccan*, the *Godavari* and the *Krishna*. The

great difference in the character of the two rivers lies in the fact that while the Krishna and its tributary the Tungabhadra are not navigable as they have to pass through some rocky regions like the Karnul highlands quite near the sea, the northern river, Godavari, with its tributaries the Pranhita and the Wardha pass through fairly level ground and run through a fertile belt with the Singareni Collieries *en route*. But apart from this fertile tract the rest of Tilangana has nothing to compare with the land of Marathas in its fertility, for while in the black cotton soil tract of Maharashtra water is stored in the soil for days and weeks, the soil of Tilangana is sandy and arid and is soon dried up. This as well as the generally irregular face of the earth there, necessitate the erection of small and large bunds in order to store water in the hollow thus created, and the artificial Kakatiya lakes of Tilangana and the reservoir and tanks round Hyderabad were originally erected for that purpose. Once the lowlands of the east were reached by the Bahmanis, the alluvial plains and the geologically recent deltas of the Godavari and the Krishna were simply a walk over in spite of double pressure of Vijayanagar from the south and the Gajapati power from the north, and having made the spur of Kondapalli his base Mahmud Shah Lashkari could march north as far as the plains of Orissa and south as far as Kanchi which was the southernmost coastal town ever reached by the Bahmanis.

THE WESTERN PORTS

In spite of the great length of the eastern coast controlled at times by the Bahmanis, they were not content with the

ports they possessed there, for whatever ports there were they were formed of silt carried down to the sea by the arms of the Godavari and the Krishna and were therefore full of sand, so that even today ships have to be stationed miles out of the ports of Masulipatam and Kakinada. The only non-deltaic port north of 14°N is Visakhapatnam but this (like the port of Madras further south) is wholly artificial and has not proved its worth even in modern times. In any case the Bahmanis did not see their way to develop any port on the eastern coast, but, as has been stated above, invariably attempted to get as much foothold on the western ports as possible. They possessed Chaul and Dabul from the very beginning, but their hold on the port of Goa was precarious owing to the fact that the jungles intervening between these ports and Goa was in the hands of hostile chiefs who looked to Vijayanagar for protection. No doubt by means of incessant pressure on the east coast the northern frontier of Vijayanagar, the Bahmanis had come to control the line of the Tungabhadra right up to the mouths of the Krishna. With the headwaters of the Krishna and the Doab town of Anandapur under their control, they could easily go through the Nandikanama Pass formed by the headwaters of the Tungabhadra and pass on to the Goa hinterland, but this was not attempted as in such a case they could have been easily outflanked from the north by hostile tribesmen of the South-Maratha country. Mahmud Gawan espied this, and abandoning this easy route marched southwards from Chaul via Kolhapur. He clearly saw that Machal, Sangameshwar and other forts of the Western Ghats, all surrounded by thick jungle, formed the only bulwark for the defence of Goa, and

once he had carried out his brilliant strategical campaign successfully and covered Goa by the Bahmani fleet, the great port lay at his mercy and he entered without the loss of a man or of a single bullet.

SOUTH INDIA

The control the Bahmanis exercised over the southern part of the peninsula, was never effective, and one of the reasons for this was the difference in the physical aspect of the Deccan tableland and what is usually termed "South India." Goa is situated near the place where the lava-capped northern section almost touches the crystalline southern section of the Western Ghats, which latter was never seriously held by the Bahmanis but was always under the control of their southern neighbour. The crystalline section of the Ghats extends to the east here in the form of the Mysore plateau with its northern limits touching the Tungabhadra just at the place where the Hampi ruins now take us back to Vijayanagar days. Although the plateau of the Deccan was the centre of the whole of the Karnatak right up to Trichinopoly, still geographically speaking the southern four hundred miles of the eastern coast differ from the rest of the northern coast line which runs almost due south from about 16° N almost parallel to 80° E. The coast line south of about 16° N. 80° E is effected not by one but two distinct types of current of winds, the N. E. trades and the S. W. monsoons, and except for the Cauvery delta which is not protruding forward like those of the Godavari and the Krishna in the north, and which must once have been a bay, there are neither any ports

worth the name nor any deltas. Madras itself is an artificial harbour and is by no means a safe one all the year round. The peninsula narrows down considerably—almost abruptly—causing increased rainfall and higher humidity. In spite of this, however, the soil in the far south does not stand comparison with the naturally manured soil of the lavaic Deccan.

CLIMATE

So far as elevation and climate are concerned 16°N may be fixed roughly as the north-eastern limit of the Deccan proper as rainfall is scantier south of this line, while excepting the Black Cotton Soil country towards the west the soil is very poor. The tract to the south lies wholly within the tropics, and had it not been for the character of the tableland, the heat in these parts would almost have been unbearable. With the average of about 30 inches of rain during the year and with the land near the eastern coast alluvial and sandy, the lot of the tenants in the Tilangana is not very happy, and the whole countryside is studded with numerous large and small dams which have been built there to store water against the danger of drought which are by no means infrequent. Moreover nearer the sea the south-western monsoons in the northern part go some way towards giving a good return to the farmer. It was perhaps this factor more than any other which led the more ambitious Bahmani rulers to cross over to the fertile belt on coast line and this was probably one of the causes which led Krishna Deva Raya to go out of his way and force the Gajapatis back to their homelands.

BAHMANI DECCAN

To sum up, the Bahmani Deccan almost followed the natural geographical features of the central part of the peninsula. On the north it was bounded by the Vindhyas and included the whole of Berar and a part of the modern Madhya Pradesh south of the spurs of the Vindhyas ; on the south its frontier was shifting from the Tungabhadra to the Krishna and vice versa, depending much on the strength of the government to withstand the opposition of Vijayanagar, while the effective control of the state did not go further south than the mouth of the Krishna. The eastern frontier of the kingdom was first fixed at Golconda near the south-eastern limit of the chain connecting the Western Ghats with Tilangana, but once this limit was reached, it was easy enough for the Bahmanis to cross the plains and conquer the coast as far as Rajahmundry and then march up and down the east coast with little opposition. The western frontier was really the Ghats, as beyond then lay hostile people of the Maharashtra, with outlets to Chaul and Dabul which became the chief seaports of the kingdom. Goa was taken and re-taken till it fell to the lot of Mahmud Gawan to march from Chaul and Dabul cutting down forests and conquering the eminences on the way. The occupation of the Konkan lasted till the end of the kingdom, being in fact the bulwark of the state, and its loss was almost identical with the final disruption of the kingdom into the succession state, namely Ahmadnagar in north, Maharashtra, Bijapur from about the line of the Bhima as far as the line of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, Berar up to about the line of the Godavari, Golconda including Tilangana and the Godavari-Krishna

Doab, and what was left of the centre forming the short-lived kingdom of Bidar. It is significant that while Bijapur with its centre situated in the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab, Ahmadnagar commanding the waterparting between the Godavari and the Bhima, and with this store of black cotton soil, Golconda with its alluvial soil and heavy rains on its south eastern Golconda coast, all flourished, Bidar, which was once the centre of the whole Bahmani Empire dwindled into nothingness soon. The reason for its fact decay must be attributed to the fact that although few parts could compare with Bidar in the salubrity of its climate, the city had no productive part of the Deccan left to fall back upon, and it was not a mere taunt of Amir Barid when he told his royal master that all the fertile provinces had been annexed by the Governors and he had little to offer His Majesty by way of Civil List.

CHAPTER 2

THE ANTECEDENTS

MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ

The second quarter of the fourteenth century of the Christian era saw the unification of practically the whole of the sub-continent of India under one sceptre, that of the Sultan of Delhi, Muhammad bin Tughluq. It was in 1249 that the northern Muslims first set their feet on the soil of the Deccan under Sultan 'Alau'd-din *Khilji*, but his conquests were, at best, precarious, and the Deccan had to be reconquered by his kinsman, the notorious Qutbu'd-din Mubarak Shah. It was, however, not till the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq that the effective colonisation and occupation of the tableland and adjacent tracts took place and the forces of Delhi came in definite occupation of the far south as well. This occupation was effected partly in the form of lightning raids and partly as the systematic conquest of the country. As will be seen, however, the Deccan did not long remain under the Tughluq sway and became separated from the Empire almost as soon as it had time to organise itself.

In spite of this the Tughluq hegemony was complete as long as it lasted, and the Deccan is littered with its remains, like certain buildings in the great rock-hewn citadel of

Daulatabad¹ the dome at Bir and the inscriptions at Bodhan, Qandhar and elsewhere the Hyderabad State and the contiguous territory. The *naskh* characters in which the court language, Persian, was then written, found its way into the Deccan persisting right up to the Bidar period of the Bahmani Sultanate. In the realm of architecture it was with difficulty that the Hindu artist could turn the simple semi-circular dome and the sloping walls of the Tughluq pattern into a lofty dome set on a huge ornate drum and perpendicular walls studded in places with trellises, windows and other artifices meant to catch the eye of the onlooker.

Further, the whole system of government of the Bahmanis was to a large extent based on the system evolved by the Delhi Sultans even to the extent of the nomenclature of a large number of offices. As a matter of fact Muhammad I, the Law-giver of the Bahmanis, only re-organised the administration which had fallen into decay during the War of Independence, and we do not find much of a deviation from its principle till we reach the ministry of Mahmud Gawan towards the later part of the fifteenth century.²

POSITION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE DECCAN IN THE TUGHLUQ ORGANISATION.

It is necessary to preface our remarks by saying something about the organisation of the Tughluq Empire and the place which the Deccan held in that organisation. During the first part of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, the king had an effective control over the whole of the country as far south as Madura and even further. At that period the land was divided into twenty-three provinces of which Jajnagar

(Orissa), Marhat (Maharashtra), Tilang (Tilangana), Bidar, Kampili (which later developed into Vijayanagar), Dwara-samudra with the subsequent addition of Malwa, may be regarded as the southern province.³ The whole empire was contralised in the person of the king who after 727-1327 had two capitals for a while, one at Delhi and the other at Deodgir, surnamed Daulatabad.⁴ It seems that during the first part of his reign the Sultan was remarkably successful in the administration of the provinces. Zia-i Barani devotes a whole section of his history to this topic and declares that whenever a new territory was added to the empire, it was forthwith furnished with a hierarchy of officials, and even the farthest provinces were kept under control, while regular payments were made of the taxes and other dues to the Secratarial situated in the Palace of a Thousand Pillars at Delhi.⁵ The provinces or *aqalim* were divided into a number of rural districts or *shiqs* and urban districts or *madinas* or *shahrs*; the rural districts were sub-divided into *hazaris* or collections of 1,000 villages and *sadis* or collections of 100 villages. The chief officer of the province was called *wali*, the *shiqs* were under *shiqdars*, *amils* or *nazims*, while the *sadis*, the smallest administrative units (perhaps corresponding to the modern taluqas or tahsils, were under the *amiran-i-sadah* under whom were smaller village officials such as *mutasarrif*, *karkun*, *balahar*, *chowdhuri*, *patwari*, etc.⁶

Such was the organisation of provincial governments under the direction of the central authority. Two things should be noted in this connection. First, such Hindu local chiefs, *Rayan*, *rayagan* and *muqaddaman*, as had agreed to pay tribute to the Sultan were left in full enjoyment of their territories,⁷

while the Governors themselves enjoyed a very large measure of autonomy due, no doubt, to the great distances and the difficulty of active and full control by the central power. They had their own *diwans* or ministries, and their own judicial systems and army units. The governor had a large patronage of office allotted to him, and while the higher posts were filled with the sanction of the Sultan, the *wali* himself made most of the provincial appointments without reference to the Capital. Moreover he had his own provincial nobility and his own revenue officials. Some of the provinces were farmed out⁸ while in other provinces all revenue collected was remitted to the capital after deducting the provincial expenditure.⁹

It will be seen that a great latitude was allowed to the provincial governors. The position of the *amiran-i sadah*, who played such an important part in securing the independence of the Deccan, was peculiar. Most of these officers were of noble descent or belonged to the upper middle class, and were in direct and close touch with the people of the *sadi* or the *hundred* over whom they held sway.¹⁰ They were not only revenue collectors but also military commanders in direct charge of the local levees, and while the *walis* and *shiqdars* were in a way hidden from the public view, these amirs constituted, for all intents and purposes, the government as the people knew it. It is no wonder, therefore, that they had a kind of innate pride of office, and began to smart with indignity when Muhammad b. Tughluq embarked upon the policy of suppressing them as a punishment for the rebellions which finally broke up his Empire but for which most of them were not directly responsible.

DAULATABAD, THE SECOND CAPITAL OF THE EMPIRE

The causes of these rebellions were many, but here it will be better to confine ourselves to those causes which led directly to the independent of the Deccan. The earliest Deccan rebellion of which we find an account is that of the Sultan's maternal cousin, Bahau'd din Gurshasp in 727/1327. Gurshasp held a jagir at Sagar,¹¹ and it seems that right from the beginning of the reign he had made up his mind to ignore the orders of the central government and the authority of the Sultan.¹² He had created a certain amount of following among the local amirs and chiefs, and raised the banner of revolt. The Sultan sent *Khwaja-i Jahan* Malik Ahmad Ayaz and Mujiru'd-din Abu Riya at the head of the army of Gujarat; they defeated him in a pitched battle at Deogir and forced him to fly first to his jagir and thence to the territory of Kampiladeva, Raya of Kampili, a local autonomous chief who held lands on the banks of the Tungabhadra.¹³ In the meantime the Sultan himself arrived at Deogir and despatched *Khwaja-i Jahan* against the rebel; Gurshasp, however, defeated the *Khwaja-i Jahan* twice and was not subdued till auxiliary forces were sent to *Khwaja-i Jahan's* help. *Khwaja-i Jahan* at last succeeded capturing the Raya of Kampili and probably razed the fortress to the ground, but Gurshasp fled further south to Dwaratiputra, the capital of Vira Ballala III, who on hearing that the Sultan's army was approaching, played false with him, arrested him and sent him back to the Sultan, and at the same time 'acknowledged his supremacy'.¹⁴

Gurshasp's revolt and his initial successes convinced

Muhammad b. Tughluq that it was necessary to have a capital situated in a position more central than Delhi. He consulted his intimate advisers, the members of the *arbab-i-dawal* or advisory council at Delhi,¹⁵ and after some discussion in which Ujjain was also mentioned as an alternative, the Sultan selected Deogir as the second capital of the Empire, and the leading Muslim families of Delhi were ordered to migrate to it. Deogir, at first renamed Qubbatu'l-Islam and then Daulatabad,¹⁶ was provided with all the comforts and conveniences worthy of the capital of a great Empire. The wealth of the city rose by leaps and bounds owing to the attention the Sultan paid to it, and it is no wonder that the Hindus of Daulatabad became enormously wealthy for one reason as the Hindus of Delhi were probably left in their ancestral homes.¹⁷ The city was divided in the heyday of its glory into three main parts—Daulatabad proper where the cantonment and the royal palace were situated; Kataka, the main city; and Deogir, sometimes called Dharagir and Dharakhera, the citadel.¹⁸

The idea underlying the scheme seems to have been that the king would go to the southern capital at certain intervals and a large number of reliable officers and noblemen would be stationed there so that the vast Tughluq Empire may have a powerful organisation right in the heart of the Deccan on which the Empire could depend.¹⁹ Delhi still remained one of the two capitals of the Empire with its vast Hindu population and a continuous influx of Muslim emigrants from beyond the north-western frontiers, which Daulatabad could not hope for. Little did the Sultan realise that those very amirs, whom he was transplanting from the traditional

capital of India to a city a thousand miles distant, would themselves break up the unity of the Empire and of India, and establish the independence of the Deccan which was to last for three centuries and a half.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE DECCAN PROVINCES

The twenty years between 727/1327, the year of the establishment of Daulatabad as the second capital of the Tughluq Empire, and 747/1347, the date of the proclamation of the independence of the Deccan, may be divided in two distinct periods. During the first period—1327 to 1341—there was perfect peace in Southern India; “men who were tired of the hurrey-scurry of this world of woes turned to the protecting walls of Daulatabad as a haven of security” and there was no place where peace and plenty reigned more than in this centre of the Tughluq dominion.²⁰ Daulatabad as the second capital of the vast Empire was apparently a great success, and the policy of establishing a large and loyal population there was bearing fruit.

The Sultan was constantly on the march from Daulatabad to Delhi and vice versa, but in 728/1328 he went to the northern capital for a couple of years in order to suppress risings in the western provinces, Delhi proper and the Doab. Not only was the Deccan perfectly quiet during the period of his absence, but even the northern rebellions were quelled without much effort, and there was visible prosperity in the Empire when Ibn-i-Batuta entered it on 1-1-734/12-9-1333.²¹ But this was a lull before the storm, and when the storm broke it swept away the whole Muhammad Tughluq's Empire.

It so happened that while the Sultan was on the way from Warangal to Daulatabad, it was rumoured that he had at last succumbed to his illness. This incited Malik Hoshang, son of Kamalu'd-din Gurg, to revolt. He was pursued by the Sultan's army and took refuge in the territory of Raja 'Barbara,' whose state lay between Daulatabad and Thana. On recovering from his illness at Daulatabad the Sultan followed Hoshang to his place of refuge. But the Raja refused to hand over his guest and it was at last arranged that the Sultan would retire and Hoshang surrender himself to Qutlugh Khan, who had now been appointed to the Viceroyalty of Daulatabad. Hoshang was ultimately pardoned.²²

Along with the appointment of Qutlugh Khan, came the appointment of Shihab-i-Sultani, entitled Nusrat Khan, to the government of Tilangana at Bidar at the farm of a lac of tankas annually.²³ After completing these arrangements the Sultan left for Delhi owing to the reports of a number of disturbances from the north, the most important being the declaration of the independence of Lahore by Amir Hulagu assisted by Amir Gul Chandra.²⁴ On the way to the north one of the Sultan's teeth had to be extracted at Bir and it was buried in a monument surmounted by a large dome. The Sultan arrived at Delhi in July, 1337.²⁵

This was the end of the Sultan's attempt to have a central capital in the heart of the Deccan. He now concluded that the main cause of the unqualified success of the Ma'bar revolt as well as the ever-recurring rebellions in the south was the recalcitrant behaviour of those very amirs whom he had sent to Daulatabad; and when he left for the north, he gave

orders that those who had been directed to migrate to the south should now re-migrate to the north.

It was not very long after the Lahore insurrection that the Sultan had again to go far south, where he had to face the revolt of the governor of Ma'bar. The date of the rebellion as given by Ferishta is 742/1342, but it has now been conclusively proved that it took place seven years earlier in 735/1335. The author of the revolt was Syed Ahsan of Kaithal in the Punjab. He was the father of Syed Ibrahim, the purse-bearer of the Sultan, and had been appointed governor of Ma'bar or the Coromandel region with Madura as the capital, a province which was the southernmost territory of the Tughluq Empire. Syed Ahsan seems to have joined hands with certain nobles of Daulatabad, who had been forced to leave Delhi for the South, and when the Sultan sent an army from the north to suppress the rising, that army also went over to the rebels. The Sultan, on his part, arrested Ahsan's son, the purse-bearer Syed Ibrahim, and other relatives and started for Daulatabad en route for Ma'bar on 9-5-741/31-10-1341.²⁶ Probably owing to the fact that, when the Sultan started for the south, famine was raging at Delhi, he could not take as much money with him as he needed for the campaign, and he was compelled to levy heavy taxes on the Maharashtra provinces on his arrival at the southern capital. He intended to proceed to Ma'bar by way of Warangal; but an epidemic was raging at that place, the Sultan himself fell ill and he had to return to Daulatabad leaving the Naib Wazir, Malik Maqbul, in his place.²⁷

The rebellion of Madura was followed by the independence of Warangal, and about the same time the first steps were

taken towards the establishment of the Rayaship of Vijayanagar. The suppression of Gurshap's rebellion had also put an end to the principality of Kampili and its territory was annexed to the Empire. But the Naib Wazir, Malik Maqbul, had to face the opposition of the local Hindu chiefs, one of whom, Krishna Nayak or Kanya Nayak, saw the impending downfall of the Empire of Delhi, rose in rebellion and drove out Maqbul from Warangal.²⁸ He then sent a representative to Ballala Deva who was then at Hampi, a town which had taken the place of Kampili as the centre of a Hindu Raj.²⁹ In this connection it is interesting to note the personality of one of the Hindu chiefs who became prominent in taking up arms against the royal forces namely Krishna Nayak alias Kanya Nayak, Ballala Deva and last but not the least, Harihara who was to immortalise his name as one of the founders and as the first ruler of the great southern state of Vijayanagar. Harihara in fact originally belonged to the pro-Tughluq faction as he had been appointed governor of Bellary and a portion of the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab by the Sultan sometime between 1327 and 1344 with the title of Pruva Paschina Samudrapati and his sway included the sea-coast as well. About this time however, he was content with the modest title of 'Hariyappa Vodeya' indicating a lesser dignity than that of a full-fledged ruler and it is definitely stated that he 'professed allegiance to Delhi.' The united forces of the three chiefs now advanced southwards conquering the province of Dwarasamudra along with whole of the Coromandel coast Eastern Deccan, practically right up to the far south, thus threw off the Tughluq yoke causing a new alignment of political forces,

and very little territory remained in the hands of the Sultan south of the Mahanadi except western Deccan with its centre at Daulatabad.

The turn of the Deccan proper was soon to come, though the first attempt to establish its independence was a failure. In 737/1337 when Shihab-i Sultani Nusrat Khan, governor of Bidar, refused to send the stipulated lac of tankas to the Sultan's treasury and proclaimed himself king, he was defeated by the Viceroy of Daulatabad, Qutlugh Khan, and sent to Delhi.³⁰ The next Deccan insurrection was the rebellion of 'Ali Shah in 740/1340.³¹ 'Ali Shah Natthu³² was a nephew of Malik Hizhbaru'd-din Zafar Khan, the Naib 'Ariz-i Mumalik of Sultan 'Alau'd-din Khilji. He was sent by the Viceroy, Qutlugh Khan, to Gulbarga to collect taxes, but instead of carrying out his orders he proclaimed himself king at Dharur with the title of 'Alau'd-din Malik Shah,³³ and was joined by his three brothers, Hasan Gangu, Ahmad and Muhammad.³⁴ They killed a local royal officer, a Hindu named Bhairun,³⁵ one of the confidants of the Sultan, and marching forward, captured Sagar and the stronghold of Bidar. But then the tide turned. Qutlugh Khan defeated Malik Shah at Dharur, drove him out of Bidar and arrested and sent him to Swargdwari, the third capital of the Sultan. The Sultan exiled him to his ancestral home, Ghazni.³⁶

Thus Qutlugh Khan was eminently successful in suppressing at least the last two rebellions, one of Nusrat Khan and the other of 'Ali Shah. But the last bid for Deccan independence as well as the turmoil which had become the order of the day in the Empire, had convinced the Sultan that there was something inherently wrong in his system of

government and that it was the scions of the old nobility, whom he had sent from Delhi to the distant parts of his dominions in order to keep those far-flung corners in check, who were proving to be the chief culprits. In the Deccan these nobles were the cause of all troubles, and the independence of Madura as well as the insurrection of Nusrat Khan and 'Ali Shah seemed to justify this conclusion. The presence of the Sultan himself in the Deccan was not enough to quell the Ma'bar rebellion; Syed Ahsan of Kaithal was able to found a royal dynasty in far off Madura, while Warangal and the Karnatak had also fallen away. Reflecting on all this, the Sultan had recourse to an expedient which proved to be as much in advance of the time and as premature for the India of that day as the issue of his token currency and his other well intentioned reforms. He replaced the old nobles by a new nobility of meaner parentage composed of persons who were the Sultan's own creatures and entirely under his thumb.³⁷ But he failed to realise the power of the old nobles, who had so long been directly connected with the governmental machinery as revenue collectors and military commanders in their capacity of *Amiran-i sadah* and were practically autonomous in their own jurisdictions of 'Thousands' or 'Hundreds', especially in far off provinces like Gujarat and the Deccan. Being doubtful of their safety and their lives, these amirs carried out a successful revolution and created an independent kingdom in the Deccan in 746/1346.

BIRTH OF A NEW KINGDOM

The circumstances of this revolution are interesting.

About 745/1345 the Sultan was told that there had been large embezzlements by the subordinates of the Viceroy of the Deccan, Qutlugh Khan, with the result that the revenue of the Deccan provinces fell from crores and lacs to a few thousands.³⁸ It seems that a party had been formed at the capital which was jealous of the pre-eminence of this erstwhile preceptor of the Sultan, who had been appointed Viceroy of the Deccan and received the status of the second man in the empire entirely through his integrity and highly successful administration. This party obtained influence over the Sultan and persuaded him to recall the old man from the south. But as he had been the teacher of the Sultan's childhood, the cultured Sultan did him the honour of sending a special messenger to him in the person of Badr-i Chach with a message that the Khan should come to Delhi to see the robe sent to the Sultan by the Khalifah of Baghdad. Badr started for the south on 1.8.745/8.12.1344 and arrived at Daulatabad about the middle of Ramazan.³⁹ Qutlugh Khan was held in high esteem by the people of the Deccan, and it is said that the people of Daulatabad wailed and wept when the "pious Khan left them" and "even the walls cried out that all that was good was now departing from the Deccan."⁴⁰ As it would have taken some weeks before the new incumbent arrived at Daulatabad, the Sultan ordered that Qutlugh Khan's brother, Maulana Nizamu'd-din ('Alimu'l-Mulk) should come from Gujarat and take temporary charge of the Viceroyalty. In the meantime he divided the Deccan proper into four *shiqs* and assigned them to Malik Sardawatdar, Malik Mukhlisu'l-Mulk, Yusuf Baghra and 'Azizu'd-din

Khammar. Sarir-i Sultani 'Imadu'l-Mulk was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan with a Hindu, Dhara, as his lieutenant. Every one of these new officers had "risen from the ranks," and they were probably all neo-Muslims with a sprinkling of Hindus such as Dhara.⁴¹ They may have been "upstarts" as Barani suggests, but they were well experienced administrators; for instance, 'Azizu'd-din had been an officer at Amroha and another of these "upstarts" had held government offices in a number of places.⁴²

However that might be, the fact remains that all these new officials were far more unscrupulous than those whom they had replaced, and the first instance of such unscrupulousness came from Malwa which had been in 'Aziz *Khammar's* charge from the end of 745/1345. The king had given explicit orders that the new governors should not spare those amiran-i Sadah who had taken part in the plots against the kingdom. On arriving at Dhar⁴³ the chief town of his division, 'Aziz, whom Barani calls 'the Bastard',⁴⁴ summoned eighty-nine of the local amirs and told them point blank that all the rebellions in the south had been caused by the amirs of Deogir; and ostensibly to instil fear in the people's minds had all of them executed. The result was, however, just the opposite of what had been expected by the author of the outrage, and all the amirs of Daulatabad, Gujarat and adjoining districts were filled with resentment and hatred against a system under which the innocent could be ground down for the supposed faults of others.

Shortly after this, when Malik Muqbil, the erstwhile slave of Ahmad Ayaz, arrived at Dabhoi as governor of Gujarat in 746/1346,⁴⁵ Gujarat rose in rebellion under the leader-

ship of four amirs, Mubarak Jaur, Qazi Jalal, Jalal bin Lala and Jattu Afghan,⁴⁶ and he had to retreat to Naharwala. The rebels were so successful that they actually captured the port of Cambay and defeated and killed 'Aziz Khammar at Baroda.⁴⁷ The Sultan was forced to proceed to Gujarat in person. Before he started, however, Qutlugh Khan, who was at the court, suggested that it was below the dignity of His Majesty to march in person to quell every little disturbance in the distant parts of the Empire, and begged that he, along with Shihab-i Sultani and 'Ali Shah, both of whom seem to have been taken into royal favour again, should be sent instead.⁴⁸ But the Sultan did not accept the offer, and after appointing a council of Regency composed of Malik Firoz (who later on ascended the throne of Delhi as Firoz Shah), Khwaja-i Jahan Ahmad Ayaz and Malik Kabir, proceeded south wards on 25 or 26.9.745/30 or 31.1.1345 never to return to Delhi again.⁴⁹

On reaching Mount Abu the Sultan sent an army against the rebels entrenched at Dabhoi and Baroda; they were defeated and forced to fly towards Deogir. The king moved forward from Mount Abu and on reaching Broach in the beginning of 746/1345, he sent Malik Maqbul and a detachment of Delhi troops in pursuit of the rebels, who were defeated on the Narbada. Most of the rebel amirs either sought the protection of Mandeo, the Hindu Muqaddam of Saler and Maner in Gujarat or fled to Daulatabad, while amirs of proved disloyalty belonging to the country round about Broach were caught and beheaded by Malik Maqbul.⁵⁰ The Sultan was now severe on the Gujaratis and began to realise the arrears of revenue which had long remained

unpaid. He sent two of his most unscrupulous courtiers, Zain Bandah Majdu'l-Mulk and the son of Rukn-i Thaneswari,⁵¹ as inquisitors to Daulatabad to find out which of the amirs had been implicated in the Gujarat rebellion. These two officers were so well-known for their heartlessness that there was great turmoil at Daulatabad on their arrival and the Sultan had to replace them by Malik Ahmad Lachin, son of the poet, Amir *Khusru*, and Malik Ahmad Sarjamdar, popularly known as Qaltash. They were told to convey the Sultan's orders to 'Alimu'l-Mulk, who was still acting as the Viceroy of the Deccan, to collect 1,500 picked cavalry and send it along with the amirs of Daulatabad to Broach. The Viceroy tried to act according to the Sultan's instructions and called the *amiran-i sadah* of Raichur, Mudgal, Gulbarga, Bijapur, Ganjauti, Berar, and other places, to Daulatabad to accompany the troops to Gujarat. The amirs knew what the Sultan wanted and purposely lagged behind so that 'Alimu'l-Mulk had to send the fifteen hundred horse on without waiting for the amirs. It was with great difficulty that he could get together such prominent amirs as Nasiru'd-din Taghalchi, Hisamu'd-din, Isma'il Mukh, Hassan Gangu, Nuru'd-din and others at Daulatabad.⁵²

The cavalcade started for Broach but had gone only five farsakhs when night fell. They halted at the Manik Dun pass between the towns of Gaj and Dun,⁵³ and in the darkness of the night the amirs conferred together and came to the conclusion that if they proceeded to Broach there was no doubt that they would be put to death by the Sultan. The next day they killed Malik Ahmad Lachin and Qaltash, retraced their steps, arriving at Daulatabad the same evening.

'Alimu'l-Mulk was asleep when they arrived and was greatly upset on hearing the news. But he was powerless, and the rebels were able to take possession, first of the granary, then of the treasury at Dharagir, and finally of the palace and the citadel after three days of constant struggle.⁵⁴ Then they made history by electing one of their own number, Isma'il Mukh⁵⁵ as the first independent Sultan of the Deccan.

ABUL FATH NASIRU'D-DIN ISMA'IL SHAH

(Jamadi I, 746/September, 1346—24.4.747/12.9.1347)⁵⁶

The Deccani amirs were wise in selecting a king as the leader of their enterprise against the Sultan. They were aware of the fate of the insurrections which had been so easily suppressed for want of a definite assertion of independence, and knew that only an insurrection which a visible head elected unanimously had any chance of permanent success. The selection of Isma'il Mukh was made after considerable deliberation. He was a senior amir of Deogir in charge of 2,000 villages, and as his elder brother, Malik Yel Afghan,⁵⁷ was "one of the greatest nobles" of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq and was then commanding the royal armies in Malwa, it seemed as a foregone conclusion that in case of need help would be forthcoming from that quarter.⁵⁸ It is said that when the crown was offered to Isma'il, he at first refused declaring that Hasan Gangu should be raised to the throne as "apart from his widespread jagirs, he was of the progeny of Bahman himself;" it was only because Hasan Gangu might be wanted elsewhere and the enemy might have to be faced immediately, that Isma'il

was made king.⁵⁹ Be this as it may, Isma'il ascended the throne. He gave Nuru'd-din the title of *Khwaja-i Jahan* and bestowed on Hasan Gangu the titles of *Zafar Khan* and *Amiru'l-Umara*.⁶⁰

The new kingdom became the centre not only of the nobles of the Deccan but of the amirs of Baroda and Dabhoi in Gujarat as well, and the first thing the new government did was to re-divide the jagirs and iqta's in the Maharashtra provinces among the new masters of the country. As has been noticed above, certain amirs of Gujarat had taken refuge in the territory of Mandeo, the Muqaddam of Saler and Maner; almost immediately after his accession the new king prevented them from falling into the hands of the Sultan and forced Mandeo to send them over to Daulatabad. He gave the title of *Qadr Khan* to Qazi Jalal, the leader of the party, and accorded him a high position at the Court.⁶¹

A month or two after Nasirud-din's accession, *Khwaja-i Jahan* Nuru'd-din had to proceed to Gulbarga where a local chief, Kandhra by name, had put to death a number of Muslims, including the Saint *Shaikh-i Zaman*, 'Izzu'd-din.⁶² *Khwaja-i Jahan* besieged Kandhra in Gulbarga and defeated his forces. But Kandhra was crafty enough to write a letter to Jalal Dohni, who was probably holding Kalyani in the name of Sultan Muhammad, in which he said that he was a virtual prisoner in the hands of the common enemy and begged for his help. When the leaders of the army at Daulatabad heard this, they on their part sent Husain Satya to help *Khwaja-i Jahan* at Gulbarga. Husain defeated Jalal Dohni who was slain on the battle-field. But this was not the end, for while Kandhra was still shut up in the unsubdued

citadel of Gulbarga, the Sultan's troops were in possession both of Kalyani and Sagar. It is related that about this time Zafar Khan dreamt one night that he should proceed to Gulbarga to help his friends and companions there. He first hurried to Sagar, defeated the Sultan's army and took possession of the fort.⁶³ After accomplishing this flanking movement, he proceeded to Gulbarga, which had been invested for nearly four months and joined the besiegers.⁶⁴ In the meantime, fearing an onslaught by the Sultan's forces on Daulatabad itself, Isma'il Shah sent Shihab-i Jalal with a letter to the commanders of the revolutionary forces at Gulbarga directing that a part of the army be sent to the capital forthwith. There were two opinions among the leaders of the besieging forces; some wished to comply with the king's orders, while others, headed by Zafar Khan, did not wish to weaken themselves by diverting their attention. In the evening Zafar Khan delivered a stirring speech to the commanders; he insisted on a complete unity of purpose and declared that the Daulatabad Government wanted to throw them over-board for the sake of their own safety; it was therefore necessary, he argued, that they should remain firm in their resolve. The army, therefore, did not comply with the orders from Daulatabad till they had finally taken Gulbarga and put Kandhra to flight.⁵⁶ Zafar Khan having accomplished his purpose, returned victorious to Daulatabad.

The independence of the Deccan, the continued failure on the part of the royal army to suppress the insurrections and the increasing stability of the government were matters of the deepest concern to Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq. It

is said that he was so upset that one night he put his forehead on the ground and prayed to God that, if he was victorious against the revolutionaries of Daulatabad, he would give up his habit of shedding blood. On hearing the latest news he began serious preparations for going to the scene of operations personally. He was joined by Imadu'l-Mulk Sartez and Malik Yel Afghan. It was probably at this time that Isma'il Shah sent word to Gulbarga ordering that a part of the Deccan army should be sent to him. On reaching Daulatabad the Sultan immediately engaged Isma'il Shah who was now commanding 30,000 troops consisting of Afghans, Mughals, Rajputs and Dakhnis, further strengthened by the arrival of the army of Gulbarga with Zafar Khan at its head. Muhammad b. Tughluq arrayed his army for battle; the centre was led by Tatar Khan, the right wing was commanded by the Sultan in person and the left wing by Malik Maqbul. Opposed to the Sultan were Zafar Khan, Hisamud'din Nusrat Khan and Safdar Khan, while the centre was commanded by Isma'il Shah in person who was accompanied by his son Khizr Khan, Khan-i Jahan Nuru'd-din, Khatam Khan, Iskandar Khan and Hashmat Khan, while the right flank was in charge of the Gujarati amirs, Qadr Khan and Mubarak Khan. Muhammad b. Tughluq gave express orders that no one was to move from his place till he was commanded to do so by the Sultan himself. The battle was within an ace of being won by the Deccan army, when Khan-i Jahan Nuru'd-din who happened to be in the centre commanded by Isma'il Shah, was killed by an arrow, and the royal Deccan bodyguard, consisting of 6,000 horse, took to flight. The tables were now turned; Isma'il's mass

attack on the centre of the Sultan's army as well as the onslaught of Zafar Khan from the left did not improve the position, and when Zafar Khan, as a last resort, made a desperate attack on the place where the Sultan's treasury had been placed, he was again defeated and had to retire. The route was complete; Zafar Khan had to fight a rear-guard action, and it was with difficulty that he could save a part of the forces under his command. The day ended in the Deccan army being trampled down by the Sultan's elephants and thousands of Isma'il Shah's partisans lay dead on the battle-field.⁶⁷

Knowing now the might of the Sultan's forces and fully aware of the impossibility of success by any further concentrated effort, the leaders of the Deccan chose a new line of strategy. After the carnage had ceased, they held a council of war in the darkness of the night. It was decided that Isma'il Shah should try to hold Daulatabad as long as possible while the other leaders proceeded to their own jagirs and defended them against the Sultan's forces; the Sultan would not be able to strike a decisive blow, as his hands would be too full for accomplishing anything definite. Isma'il found his position untenable in the face of the previous day's defeat and quietly moved up to the citadel, Dhara-khera,⁶⁸ where provisions were stored and prepared for a long siege.

The next day the Sultan occupied the city of Daulatabad, which had been left undefended. He now thought that all the ground lost during the last few years had been won back, and true to the promise he had made to the Almighty while he was at Broach, he ordered a general amnesty to all the

political prisoners. He was so pleased with the occupation of Daulatabad, where he now took up his residence that he sent a special deputation to inform the Council of Regency at Delhi of the fact, and the Council replied by sending the chronicler, Ziyau'd-din Barani, with a message of congratulation.⁶⁹ This exchange of felicitations, however, proved to be inauspicious, for, after a residence of two months at Daulatabad,⁷⁰ the Sultan had to leave for Gujarat to suppress a serious disturbance headed by Taghi. He put *Khudawandzada* Malik Jauhar and *Shaikh* Burhan Bilarami in charge of the seige of Dharakhēra⁷¹ while 'Imadu'l-Mulk Sarteẓ was directed to oppose Zafar *Khan* at Gulbarga and elsewhere.⁷²

Isma'il Shah was shut up at Dharakhēra with absolutely no means of escape, and the whole army under his charge was virtually a prisoner in the hands of the unscrupulous Malik Jauhar, who began to kill prisoners of war and treat the inhabitants of Daulatabad with extraordinary cruelty.⁷³ Zafar *Khan*, according to the arrangements made, went straight from Gulbarga to his jagir at Miraj,⁷⁴ and thence proceeded to Arka where he remained for three months, preparing for the coming fray and "praying that God would rid the people of the Tughluq tyranny." From Arka he moved on to Sagar, where the commander Iskandar *Khan* along with other chiefs of the party also joined him.⁷⁵ They were at Sagar when they heard that 'Imadu'l-Mulk Sarteẓ had occupied Gulbarga. Zafar *Khan* held a council of war and decided to move immediately to Daulatabad to defeat Jauhar, and then to dispose off Sarteẓ wherever he could be found. When Sarteẓ heard that Zafar *Khan* had started for Daulatabad,

which he had intended to reach by forced marches, he left Gulbarga in a race for the Deccan capital. Zafar Khan crossed the Godavari without a hitch, but had to fight with the advance-guard of the enemy at Daulatabad, and after defeating them he marched to Bir and occupied it.⁷⁶ From Bir he went back towards the Godavari, taking possession of the granary at Mahwa; here he heard that Sartezi was at Sindtan. Zafar Khan immediately changed his tactics and marched to Sindtan where he found Sartezi with a large army. After some preliminary skirmishes Zafar Khan's troops, to whom 1,500 horse sent by the Raya of Tilangana from Kaulas had been added, made a mass attack on the Delhi army and completely routed it.⁷⁷ Sartezi, wounded by an arrow, was trying to escape when he was caught by a soldier who chopped off his head. The whole army now laid down its arms; "camels of Bactria, horses of Tartary, female slaves and Abyssinian males by the thousands, maunds of gold and silver bullion, hundreds of tents" and booty without count fell into Zafar Khan's hands.⁷⁸ Everything now lay at the feet of the Deccan army. Zafar Khan was received by Isma'il Shah at Nizampur about ten miles from Daulatabad with all the pomp befitting the occasion.⁷⁹ Isma'il soon realised the great popularity and status which Zafar Khan had acquired by his masterly tactics, and a fortnight after Zafar Khan's arrival, he called the amirs together,⁸⁰ explained to them that he had kept the kingdom really in trust for Zafar Khan so long, and proclaimed his own abdication from the throne, taking the title of Shamsu'd-din for the rest of his life.⁸¹ As the throne of the Deccan was now vacant, "the army as well as the concourse of the people

present" unanimously selected Zafar Khan as king with the title of Sikandar-i-Sani 'Alau'd-din Hasan Bahman Shah al-Wali.⁸² Relying on the auspicious occasion chosen by the Hindu astrologers rather than by Sadaru'sh-Sharif Samarqandi and Mir Muhammad Badakhshani, the new king was crowned by his preceptor, Shaikh Siraju'd-din Junaidi on Friday, 24.4.748/3.8.1347,⁸³ in the mosque of Qutbu'd-din Mubarak Shah Khilji at Daulatabad.

NOTES

1. *Deogir*, later Daulatabad, a hill fort in Aurangabad district, Hyderabad State, 19°57' N, 13°E.
Bodhan, in the Nizamabad district, Hyderabad State 18°40' N, 77°12' E.
Qandhar, a fort in the Nander district, Hyderabad State, 18°53' N, 77°12' E.
 For the inscriptions at these two places, see *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1919-1920, p. 15 and p. 20.
2. For administration, see Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, Lahore, 1942, as well as the chapters on Muhammad I and Muhammad III, below.
3. *Barani*, p. 468.
4. The question whether the capital was wholly transferred from Delhi to Daulatabad or whether Daulatabad was only made the second capital of the Empire has been fully discussed by Dr. Mahdi Husain in his book, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, London, 1938, page 108 ff. His conclusion seems perfectly correct that it was only the elite among the Muslims who were transferred from Delhi owing to the distance between Delhi and the far-flung southern provinces. Also see G. Browne's *Some Phases of the Character and Policy of Muhammad bin Tughluq*, *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, June 1918, p. 12.

5. *Bar.*, 468. Hazar Sutun Place, so called owing to the large number of Pillars in the Diwan-i'Am.
6. *Bar.*, 501. Ibn-i Batuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, translated by Gibb, London, 1929, p. 512.
A full account of the administrative system of the Empire under Muhammad bin Tughluq is given in *M. H.* p. 224, and need not be repeated here. For a complete list of the Tughluq provinces see Al'Umari, *Masaliku'l-Absar*, Tr. Otto Spies, Muslim University Journal, March 1943, p. 16; original MSS in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 5867.
7. *Bar.*, 469.
8. Thus Bidar was farmed out to Shihab-i Sultani Nusrat Khan; *Bar.*, 488.
9. For an analysis and further details see *M. H.* 211 ff.
10. The Sadis were very much analogous to the English "Hundred," for which see Stubb's *English Constitutional History I*, 104 ff. For the Hazaris and Sadis and the amirs connected with these sub-divisions see *Bar.*, 495 and Ibn-i Batuta : *Rihlah*, Cairo, 1287 A. H. II. 75. There is a full account of the various descriptions of the Sadis in Ishwari Prasad, *History of the Qarauna Turks*, Allahabad, 1936, pp. 208-209, n. 58, but I have not been able to find any reference to 100 men being under an *Amir-i sadah* as suggested by the learned author.
11. Date in Badayuni, *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, Calcutta, 1867, p. 226. Ferishtah, *Gulshan-i Ibrahimi*, Lucknow edition I. 135, rightly says that it was in the Deccan that he rebelled; see Haig, *History of the Tughluq Dynasty of Delhi*, J. R. A. S., 1922, p. 358. *Sagar*, in the Gulbarga district, Hyderabad State, 16°37' N, 17°48' E.
12. *Rih.*, p. 58.
13. *Kampili*, in Bellary District, Madras State, 15° 25' N, 76°36' E. There is a good essay on the history of Kampili by D. Venkataramanayya, *Kampili and Vijayanagar*, Madras, 1929; by "Bahadur Khan" is of course, meant Bahau'd-din Gurshasp.

14. Vir Ballala III, 1292-1342. Venkataramanayya, *Vijayanagara, Origin of City and Empire*, Madras, 1933 Ch. I.
15. For the Arbab-i-dawal see *M. H.*, 219.
16. Deogir was at first named not Daulatabad but Qubbatu'l-Islam and coins were struck with this name of the mint engraved on them; see *J. R. A. S.*, 1932, 340, also *Masaliku'l-Absar*, op. cat., p. 18.
17. *I. B.*, 227. For a discussion of the subject see *M. H.*, 112 ff.
18. *I. B.*, 227, mentions the three sections of the city, Daulatabad, Deogir and Kataka. Kataka is also mentioned by 'Isami, 517. For Dharakhera see Bur., 14, and *Zaf* I, 159 clearly says that 'Dharagir' was situated at the top of the hill. Badayuni, 235, says that Dharakhera was the name of the centre of the fort at Daulatabad, while *Munt.* I, 235, calls it Dharanagar.
19. Bulaqi, *Matlubu't-Talibin*, India Office, MSS. 653, quoted in *M. H.* 113, 114, where the epithet 'leading men of Delhi' is used. Also see *Zaf*. III, 363, where it is related that only the 'prominent inhabitants and the able-bodied' were asked to migrate. *Masaliku'l-Absar*, written within ten years of the transference of the capital, does not mention any devastation at Delhi.
20. 'Isami, *Futuhu's-Salatin*, Agra, 1938, p. 443. 'Isami was a contemporary of the events we are discussing and is on the whole reliable except perhaps in regard to the character of Muhammad b. Tughluq against whom he had an inherent prejudice. See also *I. B.* 227 and *M. H.* 112 ff. 'Isami's value is discussed by Usha' in the *Journal of the Oriental Research*, Madras, 1936-37. I have used 'Isami's valuable work for the material about the establishment of the Deccan kingdom. For 'Isami see Ethe, *Cat. Per. MSS. in India Office Library*, No. 895. He is probably identical with Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Malik. 'Isami mentioned in Sprenger's Catalogue, p. 81.
21. *Rih.* II, 1.

22. *Rih.* II, 62.
23. *Bar.*, 481. Not "one crore to be paid in three years," as in *M.H.* 170. *Bidar*, headquarter of the district of that name in the Hyderabad State; 17°55' N, 77°32' E.
24. *Rih.*, II, 61. 'Quljand' of the *Rihlah* is Gul Chandra of 'Isami, 451.
25. *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 362. *Bir*, headquarter of the district of that name, Hyderabad State; 18°59' N, 75°46' E.
26. As Haig rightly observes in *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 334, *Badayuni*, 231 following, no doubt, *Bar.*, 480, has mixed up Syed Ahsan of Kaithal the founder of the Sultanate of Madura, with the first Bahmani King of the Deccan. Ferishtah errs in the date of the rebellion as well as in many other dates. The coins, discussed in *M. H.*, 158, fix the date. Barani is explicit that the King was within the borders of Qannauj and Dalmau when the Ma'bar revolt took place, which fixes 735/1335. A curious mixing up occurs in Professor Gibb's epitomised translation of Ibn-i Batuta, where the date, 1st Jamadi II, without the specification of the year, is joined on to the year as given by Badayuni and Ferishta, viz. 741; and the corresponding Christian date, 21.10.1341, is put down as the date on which the Sultan started for the South. As a matter of fact the Ma'bar insurrection took place in 735/1335, not on 9.5.741/4.11.1341, when Syed Ahsan proclaimed himself King. If the surmise that the Shuhur San started with the conquest of the Deccan is correct it is possible that the Shuhur San may have been mixed up with the lunar Hijri year, which would account almost precisely for the difference of a decade.
The Sultanate of Madura lasted from 1335 to 1371 when it was absorbed by Vijayanagar. See *Cambridge History of India*, III, 150. Ma'bar was the name given by the Muslims to the Coromandal coast.
27. *Bar.*, 481. Malik Qubul or Malik Maqbul was

- originally an Andhra by birth; see Shams-i Siraj-i 'Afif: *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi*, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 367.
28. *Vijayanagar (Hampi)*, in the Bellary district of the Madras State; 15°20'N, 26°28'E. *Fer.*, 138; *Bar.*, 484. Ferishtah says the Kanya Nayak was the son of Pratap Rudra, the last independent Kakatiya monarch of Warangal, "but this is not supported by evidence"; Venkataramanayya, *Vijayanagar, Origin of the City and the Empire*, 176. On p. 115 he says that Tilangana consisted of two provinces. one under Malik Maqbul stationed at Warangal and the other under Nusrat Khan stationed at Bidar. For Kanya Nayak and Krishna Nayak's identity, see the same, App. C, p. 171. There should not be much difficulty in identifying the 'Nayak' of Barani with the 'Payak' of *Tab.*, 104, as in Persian the difference between *n* and *p* is one of dots and their position only and we must remember that not all scribes were particular about dots. For a general history of these Nayaks see Rama Rao, *Foundation of the Reddi Kingdom*, (Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong., Allahabad, p. 249).
29. For relationship between Ballala III and Hampi, see Sri Kantayya, *Founders of Vijayanagar*, Bangalore, 1938, p. 70 ff. Dr. Aiyangar says in the *C.H.I.*, III, 489, that the failure of Gurshasp's rebellion marked the end of Kampili and the fortification of Hampi which must, therefore, have taken place about 1336. Ishwari Prasad, *History of the Qarauna Turks*, 191, says that it could not have been Ballala III but Ballala IV who was concerned, as Ballala III had died in 1342, but the learned author seems to be following Ferishtah as regards the chronology of the reign and we know that it is incorrect by about ten years; see n. 26 above. The quotations in the text are from Ishwari Prasad, p. 192 and 199. The theories about the foundation of Vijayanagar are discussed on p. 187 ff. For early history of Harihara

- see Venkataramanayya, *Origin*, p. 129.
30. *Fer.*, 138 ; *Bar.*, 488. Nusrat Khan found time, however, to strike his coins.
31. Chronology in *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 362. Badayuni, 233, wrongly ascribes this rebellion to 746/1346 and calls the rebel 'Ali Sher, although in the same breath he says that the Sultan was still at Swargdwari which he had left as a matter of fact in 740/1340. Even before Haig set to work on the correction of the chronology, Muhammad Husain, the Urdu translator of Ibn-i Batuta's *Rihlah*, had discussed the whole question of the chronology of these events; see Muhammad Husain '*Ajaibu'l Asfar*', Delhi, 1898, pp. 186. The episode is recounted in *Rih.*, II, 67 and *Bar.*, 488. The fact that 'Ali Shah was Hasan Gangu's brother and Hizkharud-din's nephew is stated by Ferishtah, 138. It is quite probable that the divergence may be due to the early introduction of the Hijri Solar era in the Deccan. See below, ch. 12, n. 92.
32. The sobriquet, Natthu, in '*Isami*', 463; it might be mentioned that this rhymes well with Hasan's surname Gangu.

Copper Coin of 'Ali Shah :

Obv. علاءالدنيا والدين

Rev. على شاه السلطان

See Rodgers, *Supp.* to Thomas, *Chronicles of Pathan Kings of Delhi*.

33. Thus in '*Isami*', 463; the coins, however, have 'Ali Shah as his title.
Gulbarga, headquarter and a division of that name, Hyderabad State; 17° 21' N, 76° 51' E.
34. '*Isami*. It is interesting to note that 'Ali Shah proclaimed himself king at Dharur with the title of 'Alau'd-din, a little later adopted by his brother, the first Bahmani ruler; it was really an adoption of the title of their uncle's master, 'Alau'd-din *Khilji*. In the same way the title, Zafar Khan, adopted

by Hasan Gangu before his accession to the throne, was a repetition of the title of his uncle, Hizhbaru'd-din Zafar Khan. 'Isami, 464, calls the whole clan 'Zafar Khani' and Khilji born (Khilji Nizhad).

Dharur, in the Hyderabad District of Hyderabad State. 17°18' N, 77°45' E.

35. 'Isami, 464.

36. Bar., 489. Swargdwari was a city built on the western banks of the Ganges near the site of the ancient city of Khor; 27°33' N, 79°55' E. It must have been situated near the modern Farrukhabad in the State of Uttar Pradesh.

37. We may well compare this expedient with the creation of a new nobility by Napoleon. Most of Napoleon's generals, diplomats and ministers were men of low birth raised through the strength of mere talent to the status of Counts, Dukes, Princes and even kings. This is, of course, no novelty in the history of Islamic countries, which furnishes numerous instances even of slaves rising to be successful commanders, statesmen and kings.

38. Bar., 501.

39. Badr-i Chach's chronogram about his starting for Daulatabad; *Qasaid-i Badr-i Chach*, Lucknow edition, p. 64.

40. 'Isami, 480

41. Bar., 500. Barani says that one of the 'ministerships' was given to an erstwhile gardener, Pira by name.

42. M. H. 177. Amroha, in the Muradabad district, U.P.; 28°54' N., 78°28' E.

43. Dhar, now in Madhya Bharat State; 22°36' N, 75°19' E.

44. Bar., 503.

45. *Ibid* Chronology in *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 364.

46. Names in 'Isami, 481.

47. 'Isami, 483. Baroda, now in the Bombay State; 22°18' N, 73°15' E. Cambay, now in the Bombay State; 22°19' N, 72°38' E.

48. Bar., 508. 49. The Sultan started for Delhi 4 or 5

days before the end of the month of Ramazan, passing the 'Id at Sultanpur, 8 miles from Delhi; *Bar.*, 509. It was at Sultanpur that he had long conversation with Barani on the causes of rebellions and insurrections in the Empire. The 'Id day, 1st of Shawwal, fell on 5.2.1345, so in all probability the Sultan started from Delhi on 1st or 31-1-1345 and from Sultanpur on 6-2-1345; see *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, page 356.

50. *Bar.*, 512. Date is not 748 H., as in *Munt.* I, 235. I regret I have not been able to find the position of the towns of Saler and Maner.

Dabhoi, now in the Bombay State; 22°98' N, 73°28' E. *Broach*, headquarter of a district in the Bombay State; 21°42' N, 72°59' E.

51. *Bar.*, 513. *که شیران زمانه را پیشوا بودند* Zainu'd-din

entitled Majdu'd-in as in *Fer.* 141.

52. *Raichur*, headquarters of a district of the Hyderabad State; 16°12' N, 77°25' E. *Mudgal*, in the Raichur district of the Hyderabad State; 16°1' N, 75°47' E. *Ganjauti*, a few miles from Hampi ruins, Madras State; 15°30' N, 76°36' E. *Bijapur*, now headquarters of a district, Bombay State; 16°49' N, 75°73' E. *Raibagh* now in the Bombay State; 16°30' N, 74°52' E.

53. The pass of Manik Dun (*Fer.*) or Manikganj (*Badayuni*, 235) between the towns of Gaj and Dun and five farsang from Daulatabad according to *'Isami*, 493. Barani, 514, however says that it is one *Manzil* or about ten miles west of Daulatabad. See also Hashimi's footnote on the Urdu translation of Ferishtah, Osmmania University Series, Vol. 3, app. p. 1, where he contents himself by saying that the pass 'must be near Daulatabad.'

54. *'Isami*, 495.

55. *Bar.*, 514. Legend on the coins:

Obverse: ناصرالدیناوالدین

Reverse: ابوالفتح اسمعیل شاه

See Speight, *Coins of the Bahamani Kings* (Isl. Culture,

1935, p. 292); Rodger's article in the *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, part I, pp. 52 and 53, plate IV, 36; Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Delhi, Suppl.* by Rodgers, p. 63; Rodgers, *Kings of Ma'bar*, p. 36.

56. The month of Isma'il's accession has not been found anywhere, but has been computed thus :

- (i) *One or two months* after Isma'il's accession Nuru'd-din Khwaja-i Jahan goes to Gulbarga; 'Isami, 498.
- (ii) *Three or four months* elapse after the defeat of the Delhi army by Zafar Khan; 'Isami, 502.
- (iii) Muhammad b. Tughluq at Deogir for *two months* after his victory; 'Isami, 511.
- (iv) Zafar Khan at Arka for about *three months*; 'Isami, 515.

Total period about eleven months.

57. *Bar.*, 514. Ferishtah, 275, calls him Malik Gul. I am inclined to think that his sobriquet was Malik Yel, as this would go well with the 'Mukh' of Isma'il, for Yel = Athlete, wrestler, while Mukh = fire, wasp. *Badayuni*, 236, calls him Isma'il Fath, and so also *Ferishtah*; 255; but it should be remembered that neither of these are contemporaries and it is possible that a mistake might have been made by the scribe 'correcting' what he thought was 'missing' and putting three dots over *Mukh* thus turning it to Fath فتح. Moreover, the pre-nomen Abu'l-Fath

might have led the scribe to think this was the king's name. *Zaf.*, I, 159, calls him *Isma'il al-avghan*.

58. As will be seen later, this prophecy did not come true and Malik Yel actually came with the Sultan's forces to suppress the rising. It may be that this incident led to Isma'il's unpopularity and abdication.

59. Thus in 'Isami, 496, 497.

60. *Ibid.*, 497, *Fer.*, 275.

61. 'Isami, 408.

62. *Ibid.* *Kalyani*, formerly Chalukiyani capital, in the Bidar district of the Hyderabad State; 17°47' N, 77°8' E.

63. *Ibid*, 502.
64. *Ibid*, *Fer.*, 275.
65. *'Isami*, 503, 504.
66. *Fer.*, 275.
67. Full details given in *'Isami*, 505-509.
68. See *Badayuni*, 235.
69. *Bar.*, 516.
70. *'Isami*, 511.
71. *Bar.*, 516.
72. *'Isami*, 512.
73. *Ibid*, 513.
74. *Ibid*, 514. *Mirāj*, now in the Bombay State, 16°49' N, 74°71' E.
75. *Ibid.*, 515; I have not been able to locate Arka.
76. *Ibid.*, 517, 518.
77. *Ibid.*, 518. Help from Tilangana, *Fer.*, 276. See Venkataramanayya *Origin*, 117. *Sindtan*, probably the modern Sindkher, in the Bir district of the Hyderabad State.
78. *'Isami*, 521.
79. *Ibid*.
80. *Fer.*, 276; *Badayuni*, 236.
81. *'Isami*, 523, *Munt*, I, 236, says that Zafar Khan dethroned Isma'il and put himself on the throne.
82. *Bar.*, 14 adds "Al-Bahmani" but this is not vouchsafed by coins. See next chapter, n. 12.
83. *Fer.*, 277; *Bar.*, 514, gives another version and says that the coronation took place on Friday, 18.8.748/23.11.1347, but this is evidently wrong in face of the assertion of the contemporary *'Isami*, who was probably present on this auspicious occasion, and who definitely corroborates Ferishtah. *Shaikh Siraju'd-din Junaidi*, was born at Peshawar, in 670/1271 and accompanied Muhammad b. Tughluq to the Deccan. It is said that he succeeded in persuading Pratap Rudra to embrace Islam. He took up his residence at Bijapur on 12.8.730/31.5.1330 and thence moved on to the village of Korchī. He became the preceptor of 'Alau'd-din Hasan and many

episodes are related about their relationship in *Taz*. He did not move to Gulbarga till the reign of Muhammad I and died there in 781/1380 at an advanced age of 111 years. It was he who girded the sword of State on to Muhammad I and his immediate successors at the time of their coronation. When Muhammad Shah died, the Shaikh ordered some coarse cloth and had a shirt, a turban and a girdle made from it, and it was this garb which became the coronation robe of the Bahmanis for a long time to come. His tomb, now called the Rauza-i Shaikh, is still one of the prominent landmarks of Gulbarga. See *Armaghan-i Sultani* by Muhammad Sultan, Hyderabad-Dn. 1902; *Taz*, fol. 6 (a); *Zahiru'd-din Ahmad, Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani*, ch. 1. For the Rauzah, the minarets and the high arch, all built by Yusuf 'Adil of Bijapur, see *Rep. Hyderabad Arch. Dept.*, 1937-40, p. 2.

CHAPTER 3

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DYNASTY

'ALAU'D-DIN HASAN BAHMAN SHAH

3.8.1347—11.2.1358

The New King's Family Connection

Whether Nasir'd-din Isma'il's assertion that he has been holding the crown in trust for 'Alau'd-din all along was correct or not,¹ the fact remains that Nasir'd-din's old age and ineptitude had made his position most difficult in the face of the continuous success which has been the main feature of 'Alau'd-din's career during the few months before his accession, and the so-called "election" must have been more or less a farce. Nor could the connection which the royal genealogists made between the new Bahman and the Bahman and Isfandar of old have made much difference to the claim which 'Alau'd-din had built on the force of arms and of circumstances. This leads us to the question of the new kings's family and antecedents. Till quite recently Ferishtah's story that Hasan entered the service of a certain Brahman named Gangu at Delhi, that he found a pot full of gold coins which he carried to his master, and the master was so pleased that he took him to the royal court where the

Crown Prince was struck by his sense of integrity and honesty—all this was accepted without any demur as perfectly true. Ferishtah goes on to say that the sobriquet, Gangu Bahmani, was adopted by Hasan in order to fulfil a previous promise he had made with Gangu the Brahman.² It was Major King who first cast a doubt on the veracity of the whole episode when he published an epitomized translation of the *Burhan-i-Maasir* in the *Indian Antiquary*.³ *Burhan*, which was compiled a few years before Ferishtah's work,⁴ contains no reference to the Gangu episode whatever, and in fact does not mention the nick-names "Gangu Bahmani" at all.⁵ And as a matter of fact, while Ferishtah in one place relates the whole tale with a certain amount of gusto, in another place he seems to be bewildered by the number of stories about Hasan's family and antecedents and gives a preference to the Gangu story according to his "most humble opinion."⁶

We have already noticed that Hasan was a nephew of Malik Hizhbaru'd-din entitled *Zafar Khan 'Alai*, who had been killed in action in 697/1298 against the Trans-Oxianian Turki hordes when Hasan was only six years old.⁷ One of our authorities calls him a "Kakuyah" which has given rise to a number of conjectures by certain modern historians, some saying that it is a corruption of Kaikaus supposed to be the name of Hasan's father,⁸ while others conjecture that it is the same as Gangu or Kanku the second consonant of which was left undotted by a careless scribe and which was read later as Kaiku with 'ya' added on.⁹ As a matter of fact there is no mystery attached to the word 'Kakuyah' as this word only connects Hasan with the royal family of the

Kakuyids which ruled Isfahan and Hamadan for a number of years and the scions of which came and settled down in the environs of *Ghazni* and *Ghor* partly because their principality had been placed under the protection of Sultan Mahmud the Great of *Ghazni*.¹⁰ With this data before them, therefore, it was quite permissible for the court genealogists to connect Hasan with the Persian and thence with one of the greatest Persian dynasties, that of Bahman and Isfandar, leading right up to Bahram Gur!¹¹ As a matter of fact it was not "Bahmani" but "Bahman" which was adopted by the new king as his title¹² while "Alau'd-din" was but a repetition of 'Ali Shah's title and a revival of the title of 'Alau'd-din *Khilji*, the patron of the family, while the title *Zafar Khan* adopted by Hasan and handed over to his son and heir was a revival of *Hizharu'd-din's* title.

FACTIONS OPPOSED TO THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

As is the case with all revolutions, the kingdom which 'Alau'd-din had won was by no means a bed of roses.¹³ What the new king really possessed was little more than his jagir centered round Mubarakabad Miraj, Hakeri and Belgam along with certain other towns,¹⁴ while most of the Deccan was full of paid and unpaid sympathisers of the *Tughluq* party who now saw the chance of a lifetime for carving out small states for themselves. There were also local Hindu chiefs both in eastern and western Deccan who thought that the best policy for them would be to ally themselves with these malcontents, and after the downfall of the Bahmanis to make themselves independent. Then there was the thorn of Shamsu'd-din, alias *Mukh*, in

'Alau'd-din's side, for Isma'il had tasted the honours of kingship but had to vacate the throne for one who was much junior to him, and it was inevitable that a faction should be formed sometime or other which should attempt at reinstating Isma'il on the throne. It is creditable on the part of 'Alau'd-din to have fought all these factions, sometimes by force of arms, at other times by persuasion and diplomacy, and to have consolidated his kingdom, leaving behind him a contented, centralised state.¹⁵

THE NEW MINISTERS AND OFFICIALS

The first act of the new king was to grant the title of Zafar Khan to Prince Muhammad, a title which revived the memories of his benevolent and gallant uncle Zafar Khan 'Alai, and which had proved of such a good omen to him as well. The Prince was betrothed to the daughter of a senior Amir, Malik Saifu'd-din Ghori, who now became Wakil-i Muttlaq or Prime Minister.¹⁶ The ex-king, Shamsu'd-din Isma'il Mukh was made Amiru'l-Umara, Bahau'd-din, now created Sikandar Khan, was made Barbak or the king's private Secretary, Hisam-i Dawal Deputy Minister, Rafiu'd-din was created Fathu'l-Mulk and became Hajib-i Khas or Lord Chamberlain, 'Ali Shah, the king's brother, made Sar-pardadar or Master of the Ceremonies, while Gangu the Brahman was appointed Accountant General.¹⁷

THE KING'S AMBITIONS

It is interesting to note that 'Alau'd-din was not satisfied with being king of a part of India only but wished to sit in the seat of the Tughluqs and unite the whole of the Indian sub-continent under his sceptre. He wanted firstly to cross the



Tungabhadra and conquer the land as far as Rameshwaram and Ma'bar or the Coromandal coast and then to cross the Godaveri and subdue Gujarat, Malwa and Gwalior, finally capturing Delhi itself. But the wise and loyal minister Malik Saifu'd-din *Ghori* opposed this ambitious project saying that the far south was absolutely full of jungles and unfit for a successful expedition. He reminded the king that 'Alau'd-din *Khilji* and Muhammad b. *Tughluq* had both been unsuccessful in the long run to subdue the south¹⁸ and it was with difficulty that they had been able to bring back even one-tenth of the personnel of their armies back from these arduous campaigns. The Malik, therefore, advised the king to pacify the Deccan table-land first and then to proceed to Malwa and Gujarat. The king now ordered his military commanders to proceed to different parts of the Deccan which were still held by those who were opposing his hegemony. He sent Husain Gurshasp to Kotgir and Qandhar, Raziu'd-din Qutbu'l-Mulk to the south-west, Malik Maqbul, now entitled *Qir Khan*, to Kalyani, and Sikandar *Khan* towards Tilangana, and ordered the army of Miraj to proceed to Gulbarga under 'Ainu'd-din *Khwaja-i Jahan*.¹⁹

PACIFICATION OF THE LAND

The first campaign was undertaken by Gurshasp who, while on his way to Kotgir heard that the *Tughluq* garrison at Qandhar had changed their loyalties and taken possession of the forest in the new king's name while the *Tughluq* representative, the Hindu *Akraj*, had fled to Bodhan. Gurshasp thereupon proceeded to Qandhar and personally received the homage of the garrison on behalf of his master.

He then went to Kotgir and forced the garrison to lay down its arms, but instead of allowing his army to plunder the city he gave all security to the inhabitants in their possession. When news was brought to the king of the successful conclusion of the campaign he was overjoyed and had kettle-drums beaten at Daulatabad.²⁰

Qutbu'l-mulk was sent to the south-west and subdued Maram, Mahendri and Akkalkot, which he renamed Sayedabad, and after he had brought the land under his control, ordered that every man who came to pay homage would be pardoned.²¹ He returned everything that he had captured during the campaign to the rightful owners and guaranteed perfect security to the local Hindu zamindars, giving strict orders to the army not to commit any excesses. As our chief authority says "some were subdued by iron while others were brought over by force of gold," with the result that although the army at Qutbu'l-Mulk's disposal was not large still the whole tract against which had been sent was brought within the aegis of Daulatabad.²²

Qir Khan was sent to subjugate the strong fort of Kalyani which would not submit without a siege. The siege lasted five months²³ at the end of which the Tughluq garrison begged for peace and safety and laid down their arms. They were fully pardoned by the Bahmani commander who ordered that Kalyani or Kalyan should be turned into a Darul'l-Aman or City of Refuge and guaranteed everyone's life and property. When the king heard of this great victory he ordered rejoicings in the capital for a whole week and renamed it Fathabad.²⁴

Sikandar Khan was sent to Bidar where he divided the

land among his retainers. At Bidar he put his forces on a war footing and proceeded to Malkher which was held by the Hindu zamindars who opposed the royal forces and were not subdued till Sikandar had ordered his troops to fight hand to hand inch by inch. At last the opposers laid down their arms and paid homage, and were thereupon promised full security in their homes.²⁵ From Malkher Sikandar sent a message to Krishna Nayak or Kanya Nayak of Tilangana²⁶ informing him of the accession of 'Alau'd-din and asking him to enter into a treaty alliance with him. This treaty was to take the peculiar form of an invitation to Sikandar to visit Tilangana and the present of some elephants to the king. The chief immediately sent a formal invitation to Sikandar to visit his state and advance a few miles to meet the royal commander, leaving his army behind. The Hindu chief and the Muslim General became great friends and Sikandar stayed at the Nayak's capital for a number of days. When Sikandar took the Nayak's leave the latter sent his humble compliment to the king and also forwarded rich presents as well as a couple of elephants to the new master of the Deccan.²⁷

Gulbarga which had been taken and lost so many times again mutinied under Pocha Reddi who professed loyalty to the Tughluq cause. The king ordered no less a person than A'zam-i Humayun *Khwaja-i Jahan* to proceed from Mubarakabad Miraj to Gulbarga forthwith, and he was joined by Qutbu'l-Mulk who had so successfully brought Akkalkot and Mahendri under his submission. The royal army had to lay siege to Gulbarga once again and the town was reduced with difficulty by means of catapults

under Qutbu'l-Mulk's command and only when its water supply had been entirely cut off. The Wazir now installed himself in the Court-house and distributed justice to all and sundry lying harsh hands on those who had taken part in the insurrection and distributing awards to those who had been amenable to reason, and in the course of a short time every place in the Gulbarga sector was reduced to submission.²⁸

It was sometime in 752/1352 that news arrived that an insurrection had broken out at Sagar where Muhammad bin 'Alam, 'Ali Lachin and Fakhru'd-din Muhurdar had taken to flight. Khwaja-i Jahan now sent word to Muhammad bin 'Alam demanding the keys of Sagar otherwise he was warned that he would be able "to keep neither jewels nor stones." In reply to this Muhammad sent 'Ali Beg Natthu with a message that they had been forced to take this line of action as they had undergone great hardships at the hands of the agents of the government, and that he would submit only if he were allowed to keep Sagar. The Wazir forthwith arrested Natthu and forwarded a petition to the king at Daulatabad requesting his permission to proceed against the rebels. The king replied that he would like to march to Sagar himself and ordered Khwaja-i Jahan to cross the Chintur and wait there for him. In the meantime he sent his forces which continued to harass the whole country round Sagar.²⁹

The king was loath to leave the capital. He was in fact overawed by unceasing campaigning all round the country and was afraid lest a rebellion might break out in the seat of government itself if he turned his back. He, therefore, tarried for fully two months and did not start till he was

told by the saint Uwais Qarani in a dream that he would succeed if he took up arms against the parties of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Heartened by the supernatural tidings he started from the capital, and it was when he arrived at Gulbarga, that he heard of the death of Muhammad bin Tughluq on the banks of the river Indus. At Gulbarga the king was met by *Khwaja-i Jahan* who recounted to him all the campaigns which had to be undertaken during the seven months that he had been in the vicinity. He stopped at Gulbarga for two or three days and then left for Sagar arriving there by forced marches in another three days time.³⁰ When Muhammad bin 'Alam heard of the approach of the king he immediately laid down his arms begging the king's pardon, and in spite of his most objectionable conduct the king pardoned him his life.

At Sagar the royal camp was pitched at the large tank called Hauz-i Shah or King's Tank which had been neglected and which was now repaired. The king called holy men and divines like *Shaikh 'Ainu'd-din Bijapuri*³¹ to him and loaded them with presents. He also stayed there long enough to eradicate turmoil and unrest from the land "so that even the most lowly became secure."³² From Sagar he moved to Khembhavi where a Hindu of the name of Kheras³³ was muqaddam. On the King's approach the chief sent his envoys to meet him with an offer of homage and a tribute of two years, while he himself came to pay his respects to the royal person on His Majesty's arrival and was received well at the court. From Khembhavi 'Alau'd-din marched to Mudhol which was the capital of a chief named Narayan, one of the principal local potentates who were then opposing

the Bahmani hegemony. He arrived at Melkot the next day where he received a messenger sent by the maqta'dar or fiefholder of Arka, Qazi Saif, who hitherto belonged to the Tughluq factions, with the message that he had fully realized the tyranny of the king of Delhi and it was to 'Alau'd-din that he would now turn. He therefore begged leave to pay personal homage to His Majesty and kiss His Majesty's feet. When he arrived at the royal camp the king presented him with a rich robe of honour and told him that it was the essence of loyalty to change over from a tyrannical to a just overlord as he had done.

The road was now clear for Mudhol. The Krishna was crossed and the recalcitrant Narayan's country was devastated. The chief was highly upset at the king's approach and sent an envoy to the royal camp begging that the royal sword might be sheathed and a representative sent before whom he might protest his fealty to His Majesty's person. At this the king sent Qazi Bahau'd-din³⁴ to the Hindu chief with the message that there was still a chance for him to lay down his arms otherwise he would be simply swept away. But it seems that Narayan's friends advised him to go on resisting, as they were afraid that the king might not pardon as old sinner like Narayan in spite of his generally humanitarian conduct. Narayan now shut himself up in the fort of Jamkhadi ordering his commander, Gopal, to take charge of Mudhol, and others to guard Tirdil and Bagalkot.³⁵ The royal army now laid siege to Jamakhadi. At night-fall the garrison tried to make a sortie which resulted in a terrible hand to hand fight in which the king along with Mubarak Khan, Saif Khan, Malik Ahmad and other generals took part, with

the result that the enemy was finally forced back into the fortress. The army now battered the walls with a thousand catapults and before three quarters of the night was out, entered the fort through a breach in the wall with the king himself. This victory had been won not only by the royal army but also by the help of certain Hindu chiefs, the most prominent of whom was Dilip Singh, son of Sujan Singh of the royal line of Mewar, who had already helped the cause of Deccan independence during the struggle with the Tughluq forces. The king was greatly pleased and on 25.9.743/4.11.1352 granted him ten villages in the province of Daulatabad and the honorific title of *Sardar-i Khasa Khel*.³⁶

In the meanwhile the Crown Prince, *Zafar Khan*,³⁷ arrived from Mubarakabad-Miraj and was received right royally by the king. The army now crossed the Khatar, arrived at Mudhol to which Narayana had evidently fled, and laid siege to the citadel, a difficult task lasting fully four months. At last Narayan was reduced to such straits that he had to send an envoy to the king seeking to lay down his arms and pay homage, and sending two years' tribute at the same time. 'Alau'd-din's character can be seen in the fullest light now, for in spite of the great efforts he had to make against the tricky Narayan before he could be subdued, he pardoned him as completely and as fully as if nothing whatever had happened, giving the territory back to his erstwhile enemy as a royal jagir.³⁸

'The last few months' continuous campaigning must have told on the king's health who, already 60 at the time of the Sagar campaign, wanted a well-earned rest. He

proceeded from Mudhol to Miraj where he stayed for a couple of months, thence to Paithan where he for another two months and then to Sagar where he was received homage from the jagirdars and the people of the neighbourhood. After reorganising the army he recrossed the Chinar, passing Malkher and Seram where he collected tribute from the local lords, went on hunting expeditions, and arrived at Gulbarga after a whole year's absence from the capital.³⁹

QIR KHAN'S REVOLT

The king was not to have any rest even in the last days of his life. As has been noticed, the campaigns he had to lead so far were mainly against those who had allied themselves to the Tughluq cause and who wished to profit by what they thought would be the end of all government. He had proved his great worth by his continued successes on the battlefield coupled with his humane treatment of the rebels after their submission. Now a far more serious rising faced him, and that was the revolt of his confident general and adviser, Qir Khan, the conqueror of Kalyani.

Qir Khan was persuaded by a man named Kale Muhammad to resist the king's authority, no doubt as he thought he was too much pre-occupied to carry on a successful campaign. On hearing this the king moved to Kalyani himself, and called to him Sikandar Khan, who was now greatly in the king's favour and whom had been granted the title of Farzand or the Royal Son after his peaceful subjugation of Tilangana. On Sikandar's arrival the king granted him a Red Umbrella of State, an honour which not one of the

nobles had achieved so far, commissioning him to subdue Qir Khan and bring him to the royal person. Sikandar swore on the Holy Book that he would not show his face to His Majesty till he had brought the faithless rebel to his knees. He marched from Kalyani to Bidar and thence went to Kohir where Qir happened to be. Qir was so very confident of victory that when he heard that Sikandar was marching against him, he left Kohir for Bidar and met Sikandar on the field of battle. His army was, however, routed and he was arrested by *Fakhr-i Sha'ban* and brought to Sikandar hand and feet bound. When the news was brought to the king he was highly pleased and ordered kettledrums to be beaten, while he himself proceeded to Kohir to congratulate Sikandar in person. Sikandar brought his erstwhile comrade-in-arms before the king, but at the same time interceded for him and said that if he did not submit immediately, he should suffer punishment. In view of his former conduct, however, the king was adamant. He had pardoned all the previous partisans of the Tughluq cause, whether Hindu or Muslim, and had gone out of his way to conciliate them by the re-grant of jagirs and other means, but now it was the case of one of his own generals rising against him, and he no doubt thought that he must take stern measures in order to maintain internal discipline. It was for this reason that in spite of Sikandar's persuasion, he had Qir Khan beheaded in his own presence. Kale Muhammad had, in the meantime, shut himself at Kohir; so the king proceeded to that citadel and captured it as well.⁴⁰

The king now returned to Gulbarga, and it was now that he renamed it Ahsanabad and made it the capital of the

Deccan kingdom.⁴¹ The city had already been embellished by the erection of the Fort as well as some other secular and religious buildings of note.⁴²

LAST YEARS

The last years of the king's life were taken up by expeditions which he undertook in the north, south, east and west. Goa had to be besieged for five or six months before it could be captured, and its possession proved to be precarious as it had to be re-conquered by Mahmud Gawan towards the end of the next century. On the way back the Sultan subdued Dabul, (which now became the chief sea-port of the Bahmani state), Kalhar and Kolhapur. This expedition was probably undertaken in connection with the tribute which was due from the rulers of Vijayanagar, who "saved the infant state by monetary concessions."⁴³

In the north he went as far as Mandu, which was soon to become a cultural centre of India under the Sultans of Malwa, and made the people of the vicinity pay tribute.⁴⁴

In the east he swept over Tilangana. He seems to have penetrated much further and joined issues with Bhaktiraja Eruva, ruler of a principality situated as far east as Nellore. On the way he seems to have occupied Warangal but suffered reverses at the hands of Katya Vema, an officer of Anavota of Kondavidu at Dharanikota on the Krishna and was later defeated at Pedakonda by Bhaktiraja. He had now to retrace his steps back and had to be content only with the annexation of the western part of Tilangana as far as Bhongir.⁴⁵

EXTENT OF THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

At the time of his death the extent of the territory under his immediate rule extended from Mandu in the north to Raichur in the south and from Bhongir in the east to Dabul and Goa in the west, while the Rayas on the banks of the Krishna as well as the Raya of Warangal paid him tributes. He divided his dominions into four large divisions: (1) Ahsanabad-Gulbarga along with Raichur and Mudgal was given to the minister, Malik Saifu'd-din Ghori; (2) Daulatabad, with Bir, Junair and Chaul was put in the charge of the king's nephew Muhammad bin 'Ali Shah; (3) Berar and Mahur were placed under Safdar Khan Sistani, while (4) Indur, Kaulas and the Bahmani Tilangana was made a separate province under A'zam-i Humayun, son of Malik Saifu'd-din Ghori.⁴⁶

This description of 'Alau'd-din's reign would show the character of the new king of the Deccan. There is not a single campaign either against the partisans of the Tughluq faction or against the Hindu Rajas and Muqaddams in which he showed the slightest hint of cruelty, and it invariably happened that after the campaign was over the king or his representative made a gift of the territory back to the erstwhile enemy to be held as a jagir. This was the reason why such powerful rulers as the Raya of Warangal accepted the king's hegemony without any blood being shed, and began to be regarded as honoured friends and allies of the new state. As 'Isami says, 'Alau'd-din had all the three qualities of a good sovereign; he always gave relief to the oppressed, he was always kind to the poor and took pains to obey the Divine commandments.⁴⁷

His treatment of his own subordinates who chose to be rebellious or conspired against him, is a different story. To them he was very stern and it was this which kept his former equals and comrades under strict discipline. Thus, in spite of Sikandar's recommendation that the life of the rebel *Qir Khan* might be spared, he made him an example for all others, and had him beheaded. The same fate awaited his predecessor in title *Shamsu'd-din*, formerly *Sultan Nasiru'd-din Isma'il*, who was accused of complicity in a conspiracy against the king. On the renunciation of his kingship, *Isma'il* had been an *amiru'l-umara* and the chief noble of the kingdom. He was given a place on the left of the king's person at the royal *darbar* and it was a matter of etiquette that, when he entered the hall, the king paced a few steps forward to receive him. When, *Malik Saifu'd-din Ghorî* was appointed Prime Minister he was given precedence over *Isma'il* for, as the king explained, it had been the custom among the rulers of old that the chief minister took precedence over the *amiru'l-umara*. This, of course, silenced *Isma'il*, but it seems that he was instigated by others to plot against the king. The king got an intimation of what was going on, and asked *Isma'il* in open court to which he had invited some of the most eminent men of the city, whether he had been plotting against his person, to which he swore that it was a lie and that he was innocent of the charge. The king now addressed the audience and promised full pardon for all those who would tell the truth, at which a number of the courtiers asserted that the charge of the conspiracy was absolutely correct to their personal knowledge. The king thereupon struck *Isma'il* with his

own sword and killed him immediately.⁴³ This was the first execution of its kind in open court in the Deccan, and however just it might have been, there is no doubt that it set a precedent for other Bahmani sovereigns of a more unscrupulous nature to do away with some of the best of their ministers and subjects.

THE HEIR-APPARENT'S MARRIAGE

The royal task for magnificence is shown by the splendid festivities which took place on the occasion of the marriage of his son and heir, Zafar Khan, who later ascended the throne as Muhammad Shah, to Malik Saifu'd-din Ghori's daughter, Shah Begam. This marriage is interesting as it throws a certain amount of light on the social conditions which prevailed then in the country. It was on 24.4.752/20.6.1351, that the heir to the throne was actually married, but the rejoicings connected with this auspicious occasion lasted for a whole year right up to 23.4.753/8.6.1352, when the king distributed the thousand pieces of cloth of gold, velvet and silk, a thousand Arab and 'Iraqi horses and twelve bejewelled swords to the nobles of his entourage, while grain was distributed to all and sundry, and cooked food to the poor and the needy of the capital. It is remarkable that already the Hindu and Musalmans of the Deccan were close friends, and we find the Rayas of Tilangana, Shakarkhera and Mudgal invited to the royal party. It has already been related that it was at Multan that 'Alau'd-din had spent his early youth, and it was probably there that he had got married. When the functions connected with the heir-apparent's marriage started,

the Queen, Malika-i Jahan, expressed the longing that her sister who was still at Multan, might be invited to attend the function. The king immediately made arrangements that she should be brought to Gulbarga, and it is said that it was seven months before the old lady arrived, to the great surprise and delight of the Queen of the Deccan, from whom the whole affair seems to have been kept a secret.⁴⁹

THE ROYAL TABLE

It would be interesting to know what kind of fare must have been provided for the royal guests who dined at the palace during the celebrations. Fortunately we possess the menu of the dishes served at the royal table on another occasion. When 'Alau'd-din arrived at Gulbarga on his way to Sagar to quell the rebellion of 'Ali Beg Natthu and Muhammad b. 'Alam, he was received right royally by the wazir *Khwaja-i Jahan*, who had prepared a grand banquet in honour of his royal master. It was exactly an eighth part of the day before the trumpeters announced that the banquet was ready. Silk tapestries were spread for table cloths and bread was distributed on them evenly. Then came roasts of various kinds, curry-puffs, cooked vegetables, raw celery and salad along with big and small game, as well as gravied meat curries, while 'wet and dry sweets' and halwas were provided at the end of the meal. This banquet was not meant only for the royal gentry and nobility, but to it were invited all and sundry, the citizens of Gulbarga without exception. The meal ended with the distribution of betel leaves and the presentation of the nobles and the leaders of the army to the royal guest.⁵⁰

THE KING'S DEATH

The king died old and weary on 13.759/11.2.1358 at the age of 67. He was an entirely self-made man and had consolidated his new dominions within a few years from a condition of interregnum with small potentates and adventurers plaguing the country all round, to a strong State extending to thousands of square miles by his industry, tact and sense of discipline. When someone asked him what the secret of his great success was, he replied that it was due to his kindness to all, whether friend or foe, and benevolence to the poor and the needy,⁵¹ and if one views his reign with a critical eye one would discover a number of instances of such a conduct. As 'Isami says,⁵² the two traits of his character were justice and benevolence. He was very fond of hunting, and even when engaged in this pastime he would pay full attention to all those who approached him with a petition. He wished to inculcate the same habit of leading the hard life to which he had been accustomed, and used to say that he sometimes went out hunting so that the nobles might also get used to hardships.⁵³ He was one of the first Muslim kings who ordered that no jiziah should be levied from non-Muslims in lieu of military service, and he also allowed agricultural produce of all kinds and domestic animals to enter the kingdom free of tax.⁵⁴ Evidently he took an interest in the archaeological remains found in the Deccan, and it is related how that he visited the Ellora Caves on 25.10.753/4.2.1352 taking with him those who could read the inscriptions and understand the significance of the frescoes and statuary on the walls.⁵⁵ He was not only benevolent towards the people of the country, both

Hindus and Muslims, but even had a *rubat* or rest-house built at Mecca in 755/1354.⁵⁶

Thus his fame spread far and wide and it seems that 'Isami's following prayer was accepted by the Almighty.⁵⁷

"I pray the Almighty, the Creator of everything, and to whom the very existence of earth and time are due, That thy name should be known far and wide to all and sundry in time to come."

On his death-bed he called his three sons, Muhammad, Mahmud and Dawud and admonished them that if they wanted the kingdom he had created to last they should all stand united as one man, and asked the younger two to obey Muhammad the heir to the throne. He then gave them money and articles of use and ordered them to go to the Great Mosque at Gulbarga to distribute these things among the needy. When the three sons came back and reported to him that they had done as commanded, he uttered the formula *al-hamdul'illah*. Praise be to God, and breathed his last.⁵⁸

HIS MAUSOLEUM

Bahman Shah lies buried in a mausoleum about a couple of furlongs from the south gate of the Fort in full view of the two tall 'Adilshahi minarets of the tomb of his preceptor, Shai^{kh} Siraju'd-din Junaidi. There are three monuments in the group, one of which definitely contains the remains of Muhammad II, the fifth of the line, while one of the other two is built on a platform 4 ft. high. It is doubtful whether the surmise of the Director of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department is correct that the remains of the first Bahmani lie in the

mausoleum built on the 4 ft. platform⁵⁹ or, what seems more probable, he is buried in the smaller sepulchre nearby. Bahman Shah rose from the ranks and we are aware that he led a simple homely life, while his successor Muhammad I was a man of stern character and one who was jealous of his rank and dignity. It is, therefore, not likely that while the first Bahmani should choose to be buried on a raised platform with a large mortuary chamber with an outer diameter of 46' 6" square, the second and the sterner of the line should content himself with a sepulchre of much humbler dimensions, i. e., 26' square. The very structure of these two monuments points to the fact that the surface sepulchre belongs to the first Bahmani, for in it the Tughluq type of tomb with extremely thick walls—8 ft. thick at the base—, traces of a ruined finial of the Tughluq type at the top of the dome, and simple interior, all this is only too evident. The platform structure is, on the other hand, more refined and therefore perhaps, later, for here the thickness of the walls is more moderate, and while the lower part of the interior is square, higher up it has been converted into an octogen supported by four corner squinches. Moreover the interior has been ornamented by enamel tiles with decorations of alternate orbs and diamonds, perhaps indicating empire and wealth. The shape of the sarcophagus is also more refined and artistic.

Over and above these considerations is the fact that surface sepulchre is situated exactly due south of Shaikh Siraj's grave, and it is not unlikely that the disciple should have so planned his monument that he should lie in straight line with his preceptor, with the latter's face in exact line with his own.

All these considerations, coupled with the local tradition, lead one to the probable conclusion that 'Alau'd-din Hasan Bahman Shah is buried on the lower sepulchre while his renowned son lies on the raised mausoleum.

NOTES

1. *'Isami, Futuh*, line 1038. This work is the only contemporary history of the first Bahmani written in the Deccan itself. I do not think that there was an election of the so-called democratic type at all, suggested by Siddiqi, *Organisation of the Bahmani Government*, Mysore Or. Conf. Proc., 1935, p. 476.
2. *Fer.*, I. 273, 274.
3. King, *History of the Bahmani Dynasty*.
4. The part of Ferishtah's history where the Bahmanis are described was compiled in 1016/1608 (*Fer.* I, 278), while the Burhan was completed in 1000/1592.
5. *Fer.* I, 278 and *Tab.*, 408, says that the nick-name, Gangu Bahmani, appeared on the King's signet ring, but this is not corroborated by any other evidence.
6. Among such stories is the one mentioned in the Burhan, in which Hazrat Nizamu'd-din Auliya is said to have prophesied kingship for the young Hasan, while Maulana Rafi'ud-din Shirazi, in his *Tazkiratu'l-Muluk*, fol. 6 (a), a work compiled by Bijapur in 1017/1671, recounts a number of episodes connected with Hasan's service with Shaikh Saraj Junaidi at Miraj, who is said to have prophesied that he would ascend the throne some day or other.
7. Hasan was born in 691/1292. *Fer.* I, 281, says that he died on 1.3.759 at the age of 67. 'Abdu'l-Jabbar in his *Mahbubu'l-Watan*, p. 202, quotes 'Ainu'd-din Bijapuri's *Mulhiqat-i Tabaqat-i Nasiri* (a work which I have not been able to discover) that Hasan was born in 691.

8. Kakoya, in Amin Ahmad Razi's *Haft Iqlim*, Mss., Asafiyah, *Tarikh*, 2341; also see Rieu, *Cat. of Pers. Mss. in the Brit Mus.*, I, 335 b. Haji Khalifa, *Kashfu'z-zunun*, VI, 501, gives the date of the completion of the work as 1010/1602. For this interpretation of the word Kakoya see *J. R. A. S. B.*, 1909, p. 463. Muhammad 'Ali Burhanpuri's book, *Miratu's-Safa*, Mss. Asafiyah, *Tarikh*, 1040, says that 'Alau'd-din was the son of Kaikaus s/o Muhammad s/o Ali.
9. This is Messrs. Khare and Oturkar's interpretation; see *Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 304.
10. See *Encycl. of Islam*, II, 667.
11. *Bur.* II; *Fer.* I, 281.
12. 'Isami, 525. The coin (Tanka) in the Hyderabad Museum reads :

Obv. السلطان الاعظم علاءالدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر

بوجهن شاه السلطان

Rev. سکندر ثانی یمین الخلافت ناصر امیر المؤمنین
ضرب بحضرة احسناباد

See also *Isl. Cul.*, Hyderabad-Dn., 1935, p. 288. *Fer.* I, 282.

For a detailed discussion of *Fer.*'s story see Sherwani, *Gangu Bahmani*, *Journal of Indian History*, April 1941, p. 95. Also see 'Abdu'l-lah Chaghtai, *Baniy-i Saltanat-i Bahmaniyah*, Burhan, Delhi, April 1941.

13. For similar piecemeal conquests after decisive battles, cp. William the Conqueror's conquest of England after the battle of Hastings, Babar's campaigns after the Battle of Panipat and the campaigns of the British in India after the Battle of Baxar in 1764.
14. *Belgaum* headquarters of a district of that name in the Bombay State; 15°51' N., 74°31' E. *Hakeri*, thirty miles south of Raibagh in the Belgaum district of the Bombay State.
15. 'Isami, 526.

16. *Fer.* 277. He is not mentioned either by Burhan or 'Isami.
17. All these officers, except the mysterious Gangu the Brahman, figure in 'Isami, 525-527; also see *Bur.* 16. Gangu is mentioned only by *Fer.* 278. It should be noted that the administration of the kingdom was not perfected till the next reign.
18. *Fer.* 279. 'Abdu'l-Jabbar (188, 193) quotes *Tuhfatu's-Salatin* of Mulla Dawud Bidri, which was freely used and quoted by *Fer.* but which I have not been able to discover separately all.
19. 'Isami, 528 ff; *Bur.* 16. Note the title 'Gurshasp' given to Husain, perhaps to remind the people of the rebellion of Bahau'd-din Gurshasp against Muhammad b. Tughluq in 327/1327. For Malik Saifu'd-din Ghori see Siddiqui's article, *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, Calcutta Session, p. 701.
Kohir, wrongly printed *Kotir* in *Bur.*, in the Bidar district of the Hyderabad State, 17°36' N., 76°58' E.
Kotgir, in the Nizamabad District of the Hyderabad State, about four miles east of Manjira; 18°35' N., 77°53' E.
20. 'Isami, 531; *Bur.* 16. *Bodhan* seat of a taluqa in the Nizamabad district of the Hyderabad State, 18°40' N., 72°53' E.
Maram, in the Osmanabad District of the Hyderabad State on the river Benithora; 17°47' N., 76°29' E.
21. 'Isami, 532; *Bur.* 17.
Syedabad-Akkalkot, formerly capital of a state of that name, now in the Bombay State; 17°31' N., 16°15' E.
Mahendri, perhaps modern Maindargi, now in the Bombay Province, 17°27' N., 76°17' E.
22. 'Isami, 532.
23. 'Isami, 533; *Bur.* 17 has 50 days.
24. 'Isami, 533; cp. *Rep. of the Hyd. Arch. Dept.*, 1339 F. p. 52-53, which says that Fathabad is probably a honorific name of Dharur, while as a matter of fact Dharur did not acquire this name till Shah Jahan's reign. Fathabad long remained a mystery, and while

there are a number of places known by that name, all are improbable. The difficulty in the way of the identification of this place, which had the importance of having a mint, was solved for the first time in Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan*, p. 58 where it is definitely laid down that Fathabad was the name given to Daulatabad, for according to *Bur.* 17 it was the subjugation of the stronghold of Kalyani which was responsible for this change. There are only eight Fathabad coins in existence, two in the Hyderabad Museum, two in the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay and four in the British Museum, all belonging to the reign of Muhammad I.

25. *'Isami*, 534.
26. "Kaba of Tilangana," *'Isami*, 535; *Bur.* 18; *Fer.*; I, 278, calls him 'Raja of Warangal'. He was really Kapaya Nayaka, the independent ruler of Warangal. See *Hyd. Arch. Dept. Report*, 1344 F. where reference has been made in his copper plate grant referred to in the *J. of Bihar and Orissa Res. Society*, Vol. XX, pp. 939-948.
27. *'Isami*, 535-537 *Bur.* 18; *Fer.* I, 278.
28. *'Isami*, 542; *Bur.* 18. Although Gulbarga has been proclaimed capital of the Deccan on the occasion of Bahman Shah accession, the court had evidently remained at Daulatabad as possession of Gulbarga was regarded as precarious.
29. We can fix this event for 752/1352 as it was when the king arrived at Gulbarga on the way to Sagar that he received the news of Muhammad b. Tughluq's death, which occurred on the banks of the Indus in that year. This event must have broken the back of those who still opposed Bahmani hegemony.
30. *Sagar*, about 70 miles from Gulbarga in the Shahpur taluqa of the district of that name, 16°37' N. 76°48' E.
31. Shaikh 'Ainu'd-din Bijapuri, one of the great divines of the Deccan and a prolific writer. Author of *Mulhiquat-i Tabaqat-i Nasiri*. Born near Delhi in

- 706/1307; died at Bijapur, 795/1393. His tomb was built by Mahmud Gawan; 'Abdu'l-Jabbar *Tazkira-i Auliya-i Dakan*, I, 530.
32. 'Isami, 551. The whole campaign has been described on pp. 543-550, as well as in *Bur.* 19-21.
33. Thus in 'Isami, 552. *Kembhavi*, in the Gulbarga District of the Hyderabad State; 16°37' N., 76°32' E. *Mudhol*, capital of the State of that name now in the Bombay Province; 16°20' N., 75°19' E.
34. Thus in 'Isami, 554; *Bur.* 22 has 'Mu'inu'd-din'.
35. *Jamkhandi*, capital of the state of that name, now in Bombay State; 16°30' N., 75°22' E. *Bagalkot*, in the Bijapur District in the Bombay State, 16°11' N., 75°42' E.
36. Apte, *Mudhol Sansthanchya Ghorpare Gharanchya Itihas*, Poona, 1934; Farman No. 1.
37. Not Qadr Khan, as in *Bur.* 24.
38. The whole campaign is described in 'Isami, 550-561; and in *Bur.* 21-24.
39. 'Isami, 561-563; *Bur.* 25. The year has been computed by adding on the time his stoppage at various places. *Mulkher*, in the Gulbarga district, 17°12' N., 77°09' E. *Seram* in the Gulbarga District of the Hyderabad State; 17°11' N., 77°18' E.
40. Qir Khan's rebellion; 'Isami, 563-567; *Bur.* 25-27.
41. Thus in *Bur.* 27. This must have been after 6-3-751/14-5-1350, the date on which 'Isami finished his work; see Mahdi Husain's Introduction. 'Isami does not mention the change of the capital from Daulatabad to Gulbarga at all.
42. *Fer.* 1. 78, says that the Great Mosque of Gulbarga was built in 'Alau'd-din's reign, but this is not true as an inscription says that the Great Mosque, the glory of the sacred architecture of the Deccan, was built in Muhammad Shah's reign as the inscriptions amply prove; see Yazdani's article on the subject in *Islamic Culture*, January 1928. It is however probable that

the mosque was originally built by 'Alau'd-din but greatly enlarged by his successor.

43. We will hear more of Vijayanagar tribute later ; see Gurti Venkata Rao, *Bahmani-Vijayanagar Relations*, Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong. Allahabad, p. 264.

Goa, now capital of Portuguese India ; $15^{\circ}30'$ N., $73^{\circ}57'$ E. *Mustafabad-Dabul*, a port in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay State ; $17^{\circ}35'$ N., $73^{\circ}10'$ E.

44. *Bur.*, 27.

Mandu or Mandogarh, also named 'Shadiabad', now in the State of Madhya Bharat once capital of Malwa ; $22^{\circ}21'$ N., $75^{\circ}26'$ E.

45. See Venkata Ramnayya, *Rajahmundry Plates of Telugu Choda Annadeva*, *Epig. Ind.*, January, 1941, pp. 18 ff., specially p. 25. Dr. Venkata Ramnayya seems to be doubtful regarding the implication of the name "Daburu Khanu" occurring in the plates and says that he was perhaps an officer "in the service of 'Alau'd-din," even connecting him with Zafar Khan of Lakhnauti. There should be absolutely no difficulty, however, in identifying Daburu Khanu with 'Alau'd-din Bahman Shah himself as his own title previous to his assumption of kingship was Zafar Khan. See Ch. 2, above. *Bur.*, 27.

Bhongir, now headquarters of the Taluqa of that name in the Nalgunda district, Hyderabad State ; $17^{\circ}31'$ N., $78^{\circ}53'$ E. *Dharanikota*, a suburb of Amaravati, on the Krishna, in the Krishna District, Madras State ; $16^{\circ}35'$ N., $80^{\circ}21'$ E. *Pedakonda*, in the Bhadrachellum Taluqa of East Godavari District, Madras State. *Nellore*, headquarters of a district in the Madras State $14^{\circ}27'$ N., $80^{\circ}1'$ E.

46. *Fer. I*, 280. *Bhongir* was the farthest point so far included in the Bahmani Kingdom as beyond that citadel where the dominions of Kapaya Nayak or Krishna Nayak who was on friendly terms with 'Alau'd-din.

Junair, later capital of the Ahmadnagar kingdom, now in the Poona district, $19^{\circ}12'$ N., $73^{\circ}35'$ E. *Chaul*, in

the Kolabah district of the Bombay State, 18°33' N., 73° E. *Mahur*, in the 'Adilabad District on the Berar border of the Hyderabad State, 19°50' N., 78°6' E. *Indur*, now called Nizamabad, headquarters of a district in the Hyderabad State; 18°40' N., 78°6' E. *Kaulas*, in the Bidar district, 18°20' N., 77°42' E.

47. *Isami*, 546.

48. *Fer.* I, 279. Even now the king's native nature made him take pity over Isma'il's progeny, and his son was made Amiru'l-Umara in his place.

49. *Fer.*, I, 278. 'Abdu'l-Jabbar, 146, quoting *Mulhiqat*

50. *'Isami*, 549.

51. *Fer.* I, 281, quoting *Mulhiqat*.

52. *'Isami*, 575.

53. 'Abdul-Jabbar, 121, quoting *Mulhiqat*.

54. *Ibid.*, 130,

55. *Ibid.*, 147.

56. *Ibid.*, 214.

57.

بحق خداوند کون و مکان

که موحود ازو شد زمین و زمان

چونائے تو اقصائے عالم تمام

بگیرد شود مونس خاص و عام

58. *Fer.* I, 281.

59. *Rep. Hyd. Arch. Dept.*, 1925-26, pp. 1 and 2.

CHAPTER 4

ORGANISATION OF THE STATE

MUHAMMAD I. 11.2.1358—21.4.1375

§ 1. CULTURAL ASPECTS

THE NEW KING

As we have already seen, when 'Alau'd-din Bahman Shah ascended the throne in 747/1347 there were three major factions in the Deccan all trying to get the best out of the turmoil, namely, those who stood for an independent Deccan under the new dynasty, those who were partisans of the Tughluq faction and thirdly local chiefs and muqaddams who had in mind their own aggrandisement. 'Alau'd-din was successful in coping with all antagonistic elements and left the kingdom to his son Muhammad Shah as peaceful as was possible under the circumstances. 'Alau'd-din had kept up fairly good relations with the chiefs of Tilangana¹ and Vijayanagar² and while the former were so friendly as to be invited to the marriage of the Crown Prince, the Raya of Tilangana had shown his inclination towards keeping with the Bahmanis on terms of friendship by sending as a present a priceless ruby which Muhammad affixed to a bejewelled *huma* or bird of good omen which he set up on the top end of his royal umbrella.³ The land was, however, still infested

with non-descript thieves and robbers, and Muhammad took care to stem lawlessness by ordering the governors of his newly created provinces to give no quarters to those who were interfering with the peaceful evolution of the kingdom. It is related how the heads of thousands of such thugs and dacoits were sent to the capital in the course of six months. Naturally this would have only one effect, and when Muhammad died he left the kingdom entirely peaceful and law-abiding.⁴

GOVERNMENTAL MACHINERY

While the credit of proclaiming the independence of the Deccan goes to Nasiru'd-din Isma'il, and while 'Alau'd-din Hasan was the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, Muhammad I was the organiser of the kingdom and the founder of its institutions. As the centre and apex of the new kingdom he was careful enough to clothe his own person with all the paraphernalia of royalty and made his daily darbar as resplendent and ceremonious as became the ruler of a mighty state. Every day except Fridays carpets of silk of the highest order were spread and shamianas of cloth of gold erected for the reception of all and sundry. The king arrived at the darbar hall when an eighth part of the day (one peher) had expired and was at work till the call to afternoon prayers, i.e., about an hour after the solar noon. In the beginning of his reign he was content with the silver throne bequeathed to him by his father, but this was replaced on March 23, 1363 by the magnificent *Takht-i Firoza* or Turquoise Throne sent to him by the Raya of Tilangana.⁵ This throne was made of ebony and was three yards long by two yards broad,

and was called the Turquoise Throne as it was originally covered with an enamel of turquoise hue ; but each new Sultan after Muhammad I added fresh jewels and ornaments to it till there was nothing visible except precious stones.⁶

This throne was placed in the Aiwan-i Bar-i 'Am or hall of public audience. The new Sultan was jealous of his prestige even with those who had been the co-adjutors of his father, so when his own father-in-law, Malik Saifu'd-din *Ghori* saw his inclinations in this respect he excused himself from taking a seat in the royal presence, and henceforward no one dared to sit in the darbar. Besides being a former colleague of 'Alau'd-din Hasan Bahman Shah and the father-in-law of the king, Saifu'd-din *Ghori* was also the man who is said to have laid down the principles of monarchical government in the brochure named *Nasa'ihu'l-Mulk*.⁷ This brochure, after the fashion of the mediaeval Muslim writers, was a kind of compendium of advice which had been offered to his royal master and kinsman. It is addressed to the king himself and gives the qualities requisite for a successful monarch, the place and conditions of counsel, the need for appointing the best man possible to every post, high or low, the division of officers into men of "Sword and the Standard" and men of "Knowledge and Pen," and the qualities pertaining to high civil officers such as the Wakil (Prime Ministers), Wazir (Minister), Dabir (Secretary), Military Officers such as Sarhaddar (Warden of the Marches), Qil'ahdar (Commander of a fortress), Bakshi (Paymaster), Judicial Officers like Qazi (Judge), Mufti (one who interpreted the Law), Police Officers such as Kotwal (Commissioner of Police), Muhtasib (Censor of Public Morals) and others.⁸

As regards the king himself, *Ghori* says that he should be lucky enough to come in possession of the kingdom while still young, should be able to discern hidden qualities in men as well as the true bearing of the ways of his enemies, should not take unfortunate occurrences too much to heart, should be good to others, have high moral standards, and at the same time should be ready to support the poor and the learned, be can adept in diplomacy and have other qualities which might make him respected and exalted. He should do everything which would make the army loyal to him and should try to bring the hypocrites and the half-hearted over to his side, or else, if he is not successful in this, should dismiss them in such a manner that they may not be able to create disturbances in the land. He should avoid those fond of ease and comfort and others who are prone to be too free with him for their own gain. He admonishes the king to be ever ready to take counsel of those who are learned and fit to advise him. He further addresses the Royal Majesty and says that he should appointed only such persons to various offices as should be fit for them regarding both their general character and efficiency, for "experts of bad character as well as honest men who are ignorant of the duties they have to perform, both bring a kingdom to utter ruin."

The brochure was thus a compendium of the ideal of kingship and of the way in which the more important offices of state were to be filled. The author had been appointed *Wakil-i Saltanat* or Prime Minister by the first *Bahmani* and had retained his post partly because of his tact, illustrated by the respect he showed to his son-in-law Sultan,

as also perhaps owing to his acting upon the precepts laid down in the Nasa'ih. The brochure, however, can best be regarded as containing the ideals of a Prime Minister rather than the constitution of the kingdom as accepted by the king himself.⁹ It is, however, of some value as describing the perquisites of the high offices of the Bahmani kingdom.¹⁰

It was no doubt with the advice of his chief minister that Muhammad I organised the administration of the kingdom which continued practically right up to the end of the Bahmani period. As has been remarked elsewhere 'Alau'd-din Bahman Shah's reign had seen an extension of the kingdom from Mandu to Raichur and from Bhongir to Dabul and Goa while the Rayas of the Krishna country as well as the Raya of Tilangana paid tribute to him.¹¹ During the early years of the Sultanate most of the time of the Sultan was taken up by military campaigns and the country was governed more or less under martial law. Muhammad I, however, put the administration on a semi-civil basis. He divided the kingdom into *atraf* or provinces centred round Daulatabad, Berar, Bidar and Gulbarga, entitling the provincial governors respectively as *Musnad-i 'Ali*, *Majlis-i 'Ali*, *A'zam-i Humayun* and *Malik Na'ib*. The province of Gulbarga, which included Bijapur, was regarded the most important of all and was usually given to one who commanded the confidence of the king to the greatest degree and hence was called *Malik Na'ib* or Viceroy.¹²

THE ARMY

The military forces were likewise organised. The Commander-in-chief was hence forward known as *Amiru'l-Umara*

and a group of officers called *barbardaran* were created whose duty it was to mobilise the troops in time of need. There were, besides, two hundred men who were called *Yakka Jawanan* or *Silahdaran* who were in charge of the personal arms of the king. Besides these there was a well-equipped force of four thousand body-guard of the king who were called *Khasah-khel*. Under the Sultan's orders fifty *Silahdars* and one thousand of the *Khasah-khel* had to attend the royal person every day.¹³

About this time a new article of war, gunpowder, had crept into the Deccan, and we read of the use of cannon and muskets in the siege of Adoni in 767/1366. It is expressly mentioned that the cannon were operated by *Rumiyan wa Firangiyān* ("Turks and Franks") who were put under Muqarrab Khan, son of Safdar Khan Sistani. As will be seen later, fire-arms were used by the armies both of the Bahmanis and of Vijayanagar in the campaign and this was eighty years before the "pyrotechnics" at Vijayanagar mentioned by 'Abdu'r-Razzaq and forty years before the Chinese traveller Ma-Haun described fire-arms in Bengal in 1406.¹⁴ The discovery of gunpowder and fire-arms revolutionised the whole conception of defence almost in the twinkling of an eye, and large fortresses sprang up with extremely thick walls, strong curtain walls in front of the gates, pigeon holes for fixing muskets, battlements and towers for gun turrets, double walls with the so-called "covered ways" one of the walls "covering" the shot fired from without, and various other appliances suited to the new circumstances. It is remarkable how the new structures then built in the Deccan have a great similarity with fortresses built in

Europe about this time, and this is probably due to the fact that so many "Turks and Franks" were in the service of the Bahmanis. Such a structure was no doubt the fortress called Panah-i Islam or the 'Refuge of Islam,' built by Badru'd-din Hilal surnamed Maliku'sh-Sharq at Bhingar in 776/1375, a few furlongs from where the fort of Ahmadnagar now stands. The inscription which is now affixed to the wall of a mosque to which obviously it has no relation whatsoever, says that the fort was built in the reign of Muhammad I in order to keep the local chiefs in check.¹⁵

ARCHITECTURE

There are at least three large monuments dating back to Muhammad I which are still almost intact, i.e., Jami' Masjid in the Gulbarga Fort and the Shah Bazar Mosque in Gulbarga town, and the tomb of Hazrat Shamsu'd-din at 'Usmanabad, one clearly showing foreign and the other two Tughluq influence. Both according to tradition and external appearance the erection of Shah Bazar Mosque may be placed in the reign of Muhammad I. Its gateway is structurally extremely similar to Muhammad's tomb with its square dome, its corner bouquets and its thick, tapering "Tughluq" walls, and taken by itself without the enclosure of the mosque, which protrudes from both sides, it might have been a structure meant to hold the mortal remains of a royal personage. This building is in strong contrast with another sacred building, the magnificent Jami' Masjid inside Gulbarga fort situated a few furlongs off, for here we see the hand of the foreigner, Persian and Turk, who, in conjunction with Hindu influence, had revolutionised the Deccan architecture, cast off its Tughluq influence in a very short time and

developed what was later called the Deccani style. The chief architect was himself a native of Qazwin, Rafi son of Shams, who built the mosque in 769/1367.¹⁷ Unlike almost any other mosque in India, the whole of this mosque is entirely roofed, and the inspiration for this kind of building, so obviously unsuited to Indian climate, must have come from Europe, where the covered parts of Spanish as well as Turkish mosques can accommodate thousands of worshippers, and which have only comparatively small open courts attached to them.

The roof of this building, 216 ft. east to west by 176 ft. north to south, is divided into a number of gables and arches, the latter showing off in the form of domes. The domes have shaken off the flat Tughluq shape and are built over high basements. These are not of uniform dimensions, those over the Mihrab and the gates being much larger than others and the stilted appearance of the arches, which was so much in favour with the later Bahmanis, has already made its appearance in them. The interior of the mosque has a remarkable appearance. Three sides of the building, i.e., northern, eastern and southern, are supported by very wide arches, adjoining which, parallel to the north and south wings are seven corridors all leading to the central Mihrab in such a way that a votary sitting in any part of the vast enclosure should be able to see the Imam standing on the pulpit or leading the prayers. This method has produced another pleasing feature that in spite of the completely covered court, there is a free flow of air from all sides, thus partly counterbalancing the Indian heat which would otherwise have been the uncomfortable feature of a completely covered mosque in India.

COINAGE

The coins current in the Bahmani Kingdom are of absorbing interest, especially as some of the conclusions derived from their study run counter to the statements contained in such of our authorities as Ferishtah.¹⁸ We gather from Ferishtah that the first Bahmani did not strike any coins at all and that the first of them who coined gold and silver was Muhammad I. He is explicit that on one side of the tanka (the silver coin which was of the weight of one tola and thus equal to the modern rupee) was impressed the *Kalimah* or the Muslim Creed, together with the names of the four apostolic Caliphs, while on the other side appeared the name of the reigning king and the date of the coinage. We also learn that at the instigation of the Rayas of Vijayanagar and Tilangana the Hindu goldsmiths melted off the silver and gold coins which fell into their hands and replaced them by the baser coins current in Hindu states namely *hons* and *prataps*. It is related that it was only after dire punishment had been meted out to the culprits and their associates and most of them had been replaced by the Khattris of Delhi that the Bahmani coins were allowed a free scope.¹⁹

This is what Ferishtah says. But if we were to go into numismatic evidence we would find that the basis of Ferishtah's argument was mere hearsay and mostly very faulty. The Bahmani coins, though no doubt scarce, are still discovered in treasure troves in the Deccan and have been dealt with by a number of scholars,²⁰ and they entirely falsify Ferishtah's statements. The Hyderabad Museum contains the coins of practically all the Bahmanis including 'Alau'd-din Hasan Bahman Shah, and not one of them, either of silver, gold or copper, has the Muslim Creed or the names of

the apostolic Caliphs embossed on it. As a matter of fact the form and even parts of the inscriptions are merely copies of the earlier Tughluq coins, and this explains why even before the formal 'permission' to coin money was given by the Abbasid Caliph to Muhammad I we find 'Alau'd-din Bahman Shah embossing the legend "Right hand of the Caliphate, Helper of the commander of the Faithful" on his coins. It is strange, however, that Muhammad's coins have reference only to his being the "Defender of the religion and the apostle of the Merciful God" and not to the Caliph at all,²¹ and it seems that this was due to his feeling that he was strong enough to withstand his enemies without any reference to a nominal Caliph in distant Egypt.

As regards the story about melting, although there are not many gold tankas extant in the same way as there are not many silver sub-divisions of the hons available, still the fact remains that at least the earlier hons are of a much finer quality, as fine as the Bahmani gold, and it is difficult to understand why Ferishtah should have fixed upon Muhammad Shah's reign as the period when had Vijayanagar hons should drive off the Bahmani gold tankas from circulation.

SECRET SERVICE

Before we proceed to the purely political history of the reign of Muhammad I mention should be made of two facts, one being the *munhiyan* or secret service agents of the Deccan at Delhi who were probably appointed to report any fact which might be of interest to the kingdom, and the other a humane element introduced in the laws of war by Muhammad I. The secret service men at Delhi proved their worth when they reported that the Raya of Tilangana was

communicating with Sultan Firoz of Delhi promising him that if he attacked the Deccan he would be thrice welcome and would be joined not only by the Raya of Tilangana but by the Raya of Vijayanagar as well.²² In the domain of International Law, it was decided after the sanguinary Vijayanagar campaign of 767/1366 that only those actually in arms should be put to death and the life of prisoners of war should be regarded as sacred, and thus an example was set not only for Muhammad's successors but for his enemies as well.²³

§ 2. *POLITICAL ASPECTS*

MUHAMMAD'S ACCESSION

Muhammad had been appointed heir to the throne by his father in his life time,²⁴ and he peacefully stepped into his place as the Sultan of the Deccan on his father's death. He immediately ordered that the court should go into deep mourning which was kept up till the third day when he ceremoniously ascended the throne on 3.3.759/13.2.1358.²⁵ He used to go to his father's grave every Thursday and it is he who built a mausoleum, however modest, for him. The mausoleum is about two furlongs from the southern gate of the fort of Gulbarga on a platform 26 ft. square, and what is remarkable is that although the new kingdom had been founded as a challenge to the Tughluq Empire, this as well as many other monuments at Gulbarga are built on the orthodox Tughluq pattern, with sloping walls, flat domes and bouquets on the four corners of the roof.²⁶

The magnificence of the new kingdom can be estimated by the pilgrimage which the Queen Mother undertook to Mecca in 761/1360. With a large retinue of nearly a thousand

persons she started for Dabul, one of the chief ports of the Bahmani kingdom on the western coast, and embarked there on a special Bahmani ship on 10.10.761/24.8.1360 landing at Jeddah on 16.11.761/28.9.1360. While she was in the Hijaz she arranged for the marriage of as many as four thousand couples and defrayed all their expenses from her own pocket.²⁷ This was not all, for she came into communication with the Abbasid Caliph of Egypt Al-Mu'tazid bi'l-lah²⁸ and took his formal sanction for the use of the *Khutbah* and *Sikkah* (i. e., the right of being mentioned in Friday sermons and the right of coining money) for her son.²⁹ Although the so-called Caliph had no temporal power and very little spiritual power left to him and was in fact a prisoner in his own palace in Egypt, still he was much revered in the Muslim lands as the possessor of the mantle of the Apostle of Islam, and the Muslim rulers of India were always happy to be invested in his name especially if they had to withstand opposition from any quarter.³⁰ It seems that there was a danger lest Sultan Firoz Tughluq of Delhi should make an attempt to attack the Deccan at the instance of the Raya of Tilangana, and this sanction coupled with the commendation by the Caliph to Firoz not to shed the blood of the Muslims of the South probably eased the situation.³¹ Muhammad was naturally much impressed by what his mother had done to strengthen his hold on the newly acquired territories, and when the old lady was on her way back from Dabul to Gulbarga more than a year after she had left the capital, he went as far as Kalkar to receive her. The Queen lived but a few months after her return and lived all the time in a room built for her near her husband's

mausoleum. She died in 763/1362 and was buried next to her renowned husband.³²

ADJACENT STATES

From the reign of Muhammad Shah almost right up to the end of the Bahmani Kingdom there were constant quarrels between the two great adjacent states, the Deccan and Vijayanagar. It is easy enough to attribute the cause of these quarrels to the religious antagonism between the two, but it must be borne in mind that rulers are always wont to annex the authority of religion to cover their own personal desires, and court chroniclers are ever lavish in their encomiums on the real, presumed, supposed or imagined number of infidels of the opposite camp who were killed during the encounters.³³ A learned historian of the South has rightly attributed this antagonism more to economic and political than to religious factors.³⁴ He refers to the fact that the territory which was to be the cause of quarrel between the Bahmanis and Vijayanagar, i. e., the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab, had been the bone of contention between the Western Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas as well as between the Yadavas and the Hoysalas, while with the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom and the Vijayanagar Raj history is only repeating itself with changed names. It is, however, not so true to say, as he does, that the lands south of the Tungabhadra were economically richer than those round about Gulbarga, for even if the testimony of 'Abdu'r Razzaq and Nuniz about the wealth of Vijayanagar were regarded as thoroughly reliable we have evidence to the effect that the royal treasury at

Gulbarga was no poorer, and the author of the *Mulhiqat-Tabaqat-i Nasiri* says that it contained as much as four hundred maunds of gold and seven hundred maunds of silver bullion besides lacs of prataps, hons and jewels worth crores.³⁵ In his opinion it is doubtful that when there is political antagonism between two kingdoms, any excuse might be sufficient to kindle the fire, and the victor is bound to collect as much booty from the vanquished as he can; but to say that economically the Bahmanis were far inferior to the Vijayanagaris is at least a matter of exaggeration.³⁶

The breach of peace emanated not from Muhammad Shah but from the Rayas of Tilangana and Vijyanagar. It was in the early years of the Sultan's reign that he received simultaneous messages from Kanya Nayak of Tilangana and Bukka of Vijayanagar which were virtually ultimatums and which the Sultan could not be expected to accept. Bukka's message was to the effect that from time immemorial the territories adjacent to Raichur and Mudgal as far as the river Krishna had been under the southern state and should be handed over to him if the Bahmani wanted a continuation of his kingship. The demand of the ruler of Tilangana was in a different vein. Kaulas had been presented to 'Alau'd-din Hasan Bahman Shah, and now the Raya sent word that his son wanted to wrest the fortress from the Sultanate against his own wishes. The Sultan received the envoys of these two rulers in the best of spirits and commanded the Prime Minister, Malik Saifu'd-din Ghori to send suitable replies.³⁷

WAR WITH TILANGANA

When the Sultan's message, which of course was in the

negative, was communicated to the two rulers their reply was to join forces. The Raya of Tilangana sent his son Vinayak Dev³⁸ from Warangal with a large army consisting of infantry as well as cavalry, towards the fortress of Kaulas, while Vijayanagar sent twenty thousand troops to Kanya Nayak's help. Against these the Sultan sent the Amiru'l-Umara Bahadur Khan, son of Isma'il Mukh, A'zam-i Humayun and Safdar Khan Sistani along with the army of Berar and Bidar. The main royal force met the allied army near Kaulas, defeated it and pursued it as far as the gates of Warangal. Kanya Nayak was forced to pay one lac of hons as tribute and had over twenty-five elephants as indemnity of war.³⁹

But this was not the end of the unfortunate Tilangana affair. As has been previously mentioned Muhammad was a man of stern temperament and was greatly jealous of his dignity. Soon after the arrangement with Raya, i.e., in 763/1362, he heard that some dealers in horses had been to Warangal, and although they had given out that certain special steeds had been reserved for the Bahmani Sultan, the restive Vinayak Dev had forced them to give them up for a low price. It is possible that the story of the reservation of horses for the Sultan was merely a fabrication on the part of the dealers, but Muhammad was touched to the quick as he thought that his dignity had been wounded. Moreover it appears that Vinayak would not accept the arrangements recently made between his father and the Sultan, and was for further adventures. Anyhow the Sultan made up his mind to avenge the slight he thought had been done to him. Vinayak was then at Palampet and Muhammad sent

some of his confidants dressed as merchants who pretended that their property had all been stolen and they were virtually beggars. In the wake of this advance party the king proceeded to Tilangana himself and there was a terrible commotion at Palampet when he arrived and the pseudo-merchants began to fight with hidden arms. Vinayak was arrested but when brought before the king he was desperate and intentionally used words which were highly insulting to him with the result that Muhammad had him to put to death.⁴⁰ The Andhra population was evidently great enraged against the Sultan and when he retraced his steps to the capital by way of Bidar he was harassed by guerillas from tree tops and roofs of old buildings so that out of four thousand cavalry which had left Gulbarga barely one thousand five hundred reached the capital. Muhammad was himself wounded by a musket ball⁴¹ and had to be carried in a palanquin to Kaulas where he met the forces sent by Malik Saifu'd-din Ghorī which escorted him back to the capital.

Early next year, 764/1363 news arrived from the secret service agents of the Deccan stationed at Delhi that the Raya of Tilangana had approached Sultan Firoz Tughluq requesting him to ask "those in authority in Malwa and Gujerat" to attack the Deccan and promising to aid the invaders by his own armies "as well as by those of Vijayanagar."⁴² The Sultan now lost no time in invading Tilangana in full force and ordered his cousin Khan Muhammad to collect the army of Daulatabad and bring it to "Qutluḡ Khan's tank" situated in the Balaghat of Daulatabad, while Safdar Khan Sistani and A'zam-i Humayun were also called to the capital. He gave over

the charge of the administration to the Chief Minister, Malik Saifu'd-din *Ghori*, and on arriving at Kaulas sent A'zam-i Humayun with the armies of Bidar and Mahur to Golconda. He ordered Safdar *Khan* Sistani to go to Warangal the capital of Tilangana, with the army of Berar and marched right up to the place himself. Kanya Nayak was all the while expecting help from the Raya of Vijayanagar but it seems that there was some quarrels regarding the succession to the throne there,⁴³ and as there was no hope of any help from that quarter he begged Bahadur *Khan* to solicit the king saying that what he had done in the past against the Sultan was owing to pressure on the part of the Raya of Vijayanagar to take his side, and now he fell on the mercy of Muhammad Shah. He accepted all the conditions imposed upon him and had to give to the Sultan 13 crores of hons, three hundred elephants, two hundred horses as well as "the town of Golconda with its dependencies."⁴⁴ Golconda, now for the first time a part of the Sultanate of the Deccan, was put in charge of A'zam-i Humayun. The Sultan received the envoys bearing the indemnity at Bidar with all the respect and honour due to them and loaded them with presents for the Raya. He fixed the inter-statal frontier between Tilangana and the Sultanate at Golconda "for all times." It was on this occasion that the envoys surprised their royal host with the present of the Turquoise throne which they had brought from Warangal packed in a large wooden box, so that no one knew of its contents until it was opened out, assembled and actually presented. The king arrived at Gulbarga just before the autumnal equinox and sat on this throne for the

first time when the sun was supposed to pass from the constellation of Taurus to the constellation of Aries on March 21, 1363. There were great rejoicings lasting forty days, and it is said that "all restraints of law and custom were given up" during that period.⁴⁵

WAR WITH VIJAYANAGAR

As may well be imagined, the Sultan was not very happy over the conduct of the Raya of Vijayanagar, and now that accounts had been settled with Tilangana, he wanted to give his southern neighbour a lesson. It was perhaps in order to ascertain his attitude⁴⁶ as well as to test his political superiority that Muhammad had recourse to a cynical ruse which otherwise would be incomprehensible. What he did was to draw a formal draft on the Vijayanagar treasury for the payment of the wages of about three hundred *qawwals* from Delhi who sang to music, among other compositions, the poems of Amir Khusru and Amir Hasan. The musicians had probably come to attend the marriage of Prince Mujahid with Malik Saifu'd-din Ghorî's daughter which was celebrated about this time.⁴⁷ The cheques were sent to Vijayanagar forthwith, but when the bearers arrived at the capital of the southern kingdom, Bukka, who was now secure on the Vijayanagar throne, took advantage of the occasion by making them ride on donkeys in the streets of Vijayanagar! He was greatly incensed by the insult offered to him and immediately started to conquer the Bahmani kingdom with eighty thousand cavalry, nine lacs of infantry and three thousand elephants, making Adoni his headquarters. The Bahmani armies of Berar and Bidar had gone through an arduous campaign in Tilangana recently, so the

Sultan allowed them some respite and ordered *Khan Muhammad* to go south with the army of Daulatabad. Before starting himself he sent Prince *Mujahid* with a fifth part of the booty from Palampet to his preceptor *Shaikh Siraju'd-din Junaidi* requesting him to distribute it among the Syeds, the pious and the poor at his own discretion, and begged him to pray for the success of the campaign he was now to undertake. In the meantime the *Raya* had crossed the *Tungabhadra* captured *Mudgal* which had been garrisoned by barely eight thousand soldiers, putting to the sword men, women and children who came in his way. It is related that out of eight thousand only one person was able to fly to *Gulbarga* to relate the sorry tale.⁴⁸

The Sultan was much perturbed at the report, and after formally proclaiming his son *Mujahid* heir to the throne and giving *Malik Saifu'd-din Ghorī* "full powers over the country and the treasury" صاحب اختیار ملک و مال crossed the

Krishna. The very appearance of the Sultan at *Mudgal* was enough to put the *Vijayanagar* army to flight and the Sultan entered it triumphantly. It is related by *Ferishtah* that he killed seventy thousand of the enemy, and he adds quoting *Tuhfatu's-Salatīn*, that he captured two thousand elephants, three hundred gun carriages زن و ضرب توپ و ارابه seven hundred Arab steeds and one bejewelled throne—all this besides the booty which fell to the nobles.⁴⁹

The Sultan spent the rainy season there after which he moved southwards with a large army, and crossing the *Tungabhadra* entered the territory of *Vijayanagar*. This campaign is remarkable as it was the first time cannon and

fire-arms were freely used by the Bahmanis. The artillery was evidently in charge of "Turks and Franks," this being the first time that mention is made of Europeans serving on the soil of the Deccan, and the whole department was placed under Muqarrab Khan son of Saldar Khan Sistani. Bukka hearing of this movement, gathered together practically all the fighting forces of his kingdom and placing his maternal nephew in charge of the fort of Adoni came out himself to give battle to the Bahmani army. He appointed Bhojmal Rai commander-in-chief of his forces which amounted to forty thousand cavalry and five lacs of footmen. This officer was so sanguine of his success as to ask his master whether he should bring the Sultan alive or dead, whereon he got the formal permission of the Raya to kill him if need be and bring his body to the foot of the Vijayanagar throne! Muhammad on his part crossed the Tungabhadra near the present town of Siruguppa with fifteen thousand cavalry, and fifty thousand infantry, out of which he ordered Khan Muhammad to advance forward with ten thousand cavalry, thirty thousand infantry and the whole of artillery when the opposing forces were barely 12 kroh from one another. Battle was joined somewhere near the village of Kautalam on 14.11.767/20.7.1366. The centre of the Bahmani army was led by Khan Muhammad, the right flank by Musa Khan Afghan and the left by Isa Khan Afghan. The two flanks were in great danger when both these commanders were killed by musket balls and it seemed that the Bahmani army would soon be routed. Muhammad Shah, however, appeared with three thousand cavalry at the nick of time. The tables were now turned. The two forces came to close grips

and there was a terrible hand to hand fight, when Khan Muhammad's elephant, Sher-i Shikar, advanced into the enemy lines killing the commander-in-chief, Bhojmal Rai outright. The battle ended in a defeat of the Vijayanagaris.⁵⁰

After spending a week at Adoni mopping up the remnant of the Vijayanagaris, the Sultan marched to the city of Vijayanagar itself. The Raya now had recourse to guerilla warfare in which the Deccanis had been a failure in the last Tilangana campaign, while effectively defending his capital in full force. The Sultan was so hard pressed that he preferred to retreat rather than follow up a campaign which might end disastrously. He was, however, afraid of the consequences which the acceptance of defeat might create on the army, so he feigned illness and inability to lead the forces. The retreating army was hotly pursued by the Raya's forces, the guerillas sometimes actually entering the mobile columns and cutting them to pieces. But when the Sultan was in his own land after crossing the Tungabhadra, he ordered the army to stop and attack the Raya's camp in full force where he was engaged in music, dancing and drinking. In an instant, it is said, the Hindu camp was full of cries of *Allahu Akbar* and Raya had to retreat, not stopping till his capital was reached.⁵¹

Bukka now called together the chiefs of his kingdom and took counsel from them. They were unanimous that just as his predecessor was on friendly terms with Bahman Shah so it would be far better if he were to have friendly relations with the present Sultan. Envoys were, therefore, sent to the Sultan's camp requesting peace and appealing for

brotherly relations between the two neighbouring states. On hearing this the Sultan smiled and said that he did not wish more than that the salary of the Delhi musicians should be paid from the Vijayanagar treasury and the draft which he had signed should be duly honoured.⁵² The musicians also had something to say to this, and after begging the Sultan's pardon they suggested that the massacres committed by the Sultan were entirely against all the precepts of Islam as many women and children were also put to death by those who called themselves votaries of that sublime faith, and this was not allowed—far less enjoined—by Islam. The king was greatly touched by this appeal and ordered that in any future campaign engaged on behalf of the Bahmanis only the actual combatants should be put to death and no prisoner of war should ever be molested.⁵³

BAHRAM KHAN'S REBELLION

Immediately after this campaign, Muhammad had to face the rebellion of Bahram Khan Mazendarani, governor of Daulatabad. As has been noted above practically all the army of Daulatabad was away on the Vijayanagar campaign, and seeing his chance, Bahram Khan, who "had been like a son to 'Alau'd-din Bahman Shah'" conspired with the Maratha Kumbh Dev and certain other chieftains of Berar and Baglana, and taking possession of the tribute of the Mahratta province rose against the Sultan. The Sultan was at Vijayanagar and when he heard the news he immediately sent Syed Jalal Hamud and Shah Malik to Daulatabad admonishing the recalcitrant amir to desist. But this was of no avail. When the two envoys returned to Gulbarga the

Sultan had just been back, and without taking any rest he set off for the north-west within the week, sending Musnad-i 'Ali Khan Muhammad in advance. Bahram Khan advanced as far as Patan, and it seems that when the two armies were face to face, some of the royal troops changed sides, with the result that Khan Muhammad had to beat a hasty retreat to Shivgaon.⁵⁴ The king, who was then at Bir, hurried towards Patan. When he was four krohs from there the Raja of Baglana took to flight while Bahram Khan retreated to Daulatabad. The fortress was, however, beleaguered by the royal troops, and it was only in the darkness of the night that he and Kumbh Dev stole out and went straight to Hazrat Shaikh Zainu'd-din who advised them to fly to Gujarat at once.⁵⁵

The king was much annoyed as before the culprits could be caught they had already crossed the Gujarat frontier, and remembered that it was Shaikh Zainu'd-din⁵⁶ who had absented himself from attending the court when all the holy men had been called to pay homage to the king when he had ascended the throne. The Shaikh had then made his excuse by saying that as the Sultan indulged in wine and other things forbidden by the Law it was impossible to him to accept such a person as his sovereign, and had further admonished him that it was necessary for a Muslim king to act according to the example of the Apostle of Islam. The king now insisted that the Shaikh should pay homage to him either in person or in writing. On receiving this message the Shaikh related the story of a Syed, a learned man, and a sinner who were captured by idolators and ordered to make obeisance before an idol otherwise they would be beheaded

The Syed and the learned man duly made obeisance while slowly reciting the "Verse of Laudation" from the Qur'an,⁵⁷ while the sinner said that his colleagues were pious men, he himself had nothing to show God and preferred rather to be beheaded than bow before inanimate objects. The Shaikh remarked that while others were like the first two, he was like the sinner and preferred to suffer rather than present himself before a Sultan like Muhammad Shah. The Sultan thereupon ordered his immediate withdrawal from the city of Daulatabad, on which he put his praying mat on his shoulders, retired to Shaikh Bahau'd-din's tomb⁵⁸ and sitting at the foot of the grave challenged if there was any one who could remove him from that place. The Sultan now saw that he had to face a person of an extraordinary character and sent Sadaru'sh-Sharif with a message of goodwill to him. The Shaikh replied that if the Sultan left off drinking at least in others' presence, closed all the wine shops of the kingdom, acted as his late father had acted all his life and issued orders to all the officers to act according to the precepts of morality as laid down by Islam, "he would find no one as great a friend as that faqir, Zainu'd-din". The Sultan accepted these pleas and the two became consoled after all. Leaving Musnad-i 'Ali in charge of Maharashtra the king now left for Gulbarga.⁵⁹

LAST YEARS

The rest of the Sultan's life was spent in peace and plenty. Bukka and Kanya Nayak continued to pay tribute and the whole realm was quiet especially after the stern suppression of the robbers. The Sultan made up his mind not to proceed

with any more campaigns and went on strengthening his hold on his own kingdom instead. Henceforth he used to tour round the provinces every year and Ferishtah says that towards the end of the reign every one in the kingdom was happy and prosperous.

The Sultan died on 19.11.776/21.4.1375.⁶⁰ He lies buried a short distance from the tomb of his renowned father and from the palace-fortress of his capital.⁶¹ It is mentioned that a Qur'anic verse was inscribed on his grave⁶² but no trace of this is seen today.

MUHAMMAD'S CHARACTER

Muhammad was one of the greatest rulers of the Bahmani dynasty. His father had no time to put the institutions of the kingdom on a sound basis and it was left to him to make the state perfect so far as administrative institutions were concerned. By his campaign in the East and the South he finally demonstrated to his neighbours, the power of the new Sultanate and suppressed with an iron hand the only rebellion of his reign, that of Bahram Khan Mazendarani. His strategical worth is to be seen in his campaign against Vijayanagar where he not only used the new firearms to his advantage but also routed an enemy far superior to him in numbers. In his own court he knew no distinctions and even made his father-in-law, the chief minister Malik Saifu'd-din Ghorî, stand at the foot of the throne. Shaikh Zainu'd-din's episode, however, shows how a king of those days, of the calibre of Muhammad I, had to bow before the force of superior character, and how he could forsake evil when called upon to do so. He was always ready to listen to the

superior direction of the Divines, and always counted on the prayers of Shaikh Siraju'd-din Junaidi whenever he set out on a campaign.⁶³ When a prince, he had been taught the gentlemanly arts of archery and fencing, and although prone to drink, there is nothing known against him so far as private morality is concerned. When he died he was at peace with Tilangana, with Vijayanagar, with his subjects both Hindu and Muslim, and with his God. It is said that he treated his soldier and the civilian, officer and subject with kindness and concern.⁶⁴ He always sought the company of the learned⁶⁵ and it was due to this that men like Shaikhul-Masha'ikh Zainu'd-din Daulatabadi, 'Ainu'd-din Bijapuri, Maulana Nizamu'd-din Barani, Hakim Zahiru'd-din Tabrizi crowded his capital and made the Deccan "the centre of the learned and the envy of all parts of India."⁶⁶

NOTES

1. The Raya of Tilangana was Kanya Nayak who had at one time aided Zafar Khan in the overthrow of the Tughluqs. See Ch. 2, above. Kanya Nayak died in 1375 according to Rama Rao, *Foundation of the Reddi Kingdom*, (Transactions of the Indian History Congress, Allahabad 1938, p. 249) or in 1369 "or a little earlier" according to Venkataramanayya, *Velug.*, Intro., p. 11.
2. Our Persian chroniclers almost invariably call the Raya of Vijayanagar either "Kishan Rai" or "Dev Rai" using these epithets as titles not names. All these chroniclers composed their works after the brilliant rule of Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar, 1509-1529, and were probably so much impressed by him that they considered his personal name to be a generic

name for all his predecessors in title. For the Vijayanagar succession see 43 below.

3. During the later part of his reign, Muhammad used an umbrella covered with a portion of the cover of the Ka'bah brought to India by his mother; *Fer.*, I. 285.
4. *Fer.*, I. 295.
5. The king first sat on the new throne on the Solar Naoroz or Persian New Year following the autumnal solstice in 764 H; *Fer.*, I. 282. Sir Wolsley Haig is wrong in giving the date 21.3.1365; see *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 381.
6. *Fer.*, I. 268.
7. I have not been able to lay my hands on the original work, but there is an Urdu translation in extenso in 'Abdu'l-Jabbar Khan's *Tazkira-i Salatin-i Dakan*, Hyderabad, 1329 H., pp. 75-82. The author says (p. 75) that he had an original copy with him when he translated the work, but, along with whole of his library, rich in manuscripts, it was destroyed in the floods of the Musi river on 1-9-1326 H. He says that it was this brochure which was renamed *Dastur-i Jahan Kusha'i* by Maulana Qadru'l-lah in Shah Jahan's reign which I have not been able to trace. Naturally under these circumstances little can be said about the authenticity of the pamphlet.
8. The nomenclature of most of the offices mentioned is nearly the same as that used at Delhi; cf I. H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, Lahore, 1942, Ch. 5 and 7.
9. See Siddiqi, *Malik Saifu'd-din Ghorī, Op. City.*, where an attempt is made to regard the brochure as the definite constitution of the kingdom. Also see Siddiqi, *Organisation of the Central and Provincial Government of the Deccan under Bahmanides*, Indian Oriental Conference, Mysore, 1935, p. 463.
10. It might be remarked that Ferishtah is the only authority who mentions even the name of this minister, while Burhan-i Ma'asir, *Tabaqat-i Akbari* and the

rest are silent about him. The strange part of it is that he is not mentioned by the contemporary 'Isami in his *Futuhu's-Salatin*, Agra, 1938, who otherwise gives details almost to a fault, but it might have been due to the fact that the Malik had not attained eminence in 'Isami's lifetime.

11. See Ch. 3 above.
12. *Fer.*, I. 282. We find the office of Malik Na'ib at Delhi as well. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
13. *Fer.*, I. 282. Ferishtah says that some of these offices persisted in the 'Adil Shahi dominions even up to his own day, 1016/1608.
14. *Fer.*, I. 290. This is the first time the Europeans are mentioned. For gunpowder see Gode, *Use of Guns and Gunpowder in India* (Denison Ross Commemoration Volume, Poona, 1939, p. 117). The pyrotechnics at Vijayanagar are mentioned in 'Abdu'l-Razzaq, *Matla 'u's--Sa'dain* Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by her own Historians* (Vol. IV, p. 117). The actual use of artillery is heard of for the first time in the siege of Baza in Spain by Isma'il b. Faraj, Muslim King of Granada in 1325. *Adoni*, headquarters of a Taluqa in Bellary district, Madras State, 15°38' N., 77°17' E.
15. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1934, p. 4. Dr. Nazim rightly says that as Muhammad died in 776 H., so the building of the Fort must have commenced in his reign and completed in the next. *Bhingar*, a town in the district of Ahmadnagar, Bombay State, 19°6' N., 76°16' E. *Ahmadnagar*, headquarters of a district on the left bank of the river Sena in the Bombay State, 17°5' N., 74°55' E.
16. *Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department*, 1335 F., p. 5.
17. *Epigraphia Indo-Mosl.*, 1907-08, p. 102; *Report, Hyderabad Arch. Department*, 1335 F. pp. 3-5. The inscription on the mosque is dated 4-1-769/31-8-1367 (not 1-9-1367 as given in the *Arch. Report*). Also see Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*,

- London, 1910, p. 264, for the plan of the mosque. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Islamic Period*, p. 69, calls the masjid "one of the most interesting Islamic monuments in Southern India." Qazwin, a town at the foot of the Elburz, about 60 miles north-west of Teheran.
18. This is taken mostly from, Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan, the Great Bahmani Wazir*, Allahabad, 1942, pp. 52-58.
 19. *Fer.*, I. 282. 'Abdu'l-Jabbar says that he himself saw a coin with the names of the four Caliphs on the margin, but the inscription he quotes has "'Alau'd-duniya wa'd-din" on one side and "Muhammad-i Mahmud" on the other, so this cannot possibly be the Bahmani Muhammad I's coin in any case.
 20. Gibbs: *Gold and Silver Coins of the Bahmani Kingdom* (Numismatic Chronicle, 1881); Codrington, *Copper Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty* (Num. Ch., 1883) Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, *Rare and Important Coins of the Bahmani Kings* (Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, 1933, p. 737 f.); Speight, *The Coins of the Bahmani Kings* (Islamic Culture, Hyderabad-Deccan 1935, pp. 269-307).
 21. Muhammad's coins bear the mint names Ahsanabad and Fathabad. Ahsanabad is, of course, the name given to Gulbarga by the first Bahmani. For Fathabad mint, see Ch. 3, n. 24.
 22. *Fer.*, I. 290. Firoz Tughluq, Sultan of Delhi, 1351-1388.
 23. *Fer.*, I. 292.
 24. *Fer.*, I. 289.
 25. The date of Muhammad's accession as given by *Fer.*, is 1-3-795 H., which makes his reign to extend for 10 years, 8 months and 5 days which is less than the duration, 11 years, 2 months and 7 days, given in *Tabaqat-i Akbari* and *Bur.*, by about 4 months. But in this matter *Bur.*, is not reliable as it is inaccurate (p. 31) about the date of Muhammad's accession putting it in 758, and *Tab.*, does not give dates either of the accession or of death. We may, therefore, take it that Muhammad became king on 1-3-759/11-2-1358.

26. For a discussion of the tombs of the first two Bahmanis, see Ch. 3 end, above.
27. *Fer.*, I. 285.
28. Not Qa'im as in 'Abdu'l-Jabbar, *op. cit.*, p. 237, Mu'tadid, 753/1352 763/1362. Qa'im, 854/1450—859/1455.
29. These two were regarded as the chief emblems of royalty; see Qureshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.
30. This topic is well discussed by Qureshi, *op. cit.*, Ch. 2. Even the nominal Caliphate of Egypt became extinct with the conquest of the country by the Turkish Sultan Selim I in 1517.
31. 'Abdu'l Jabbar, quoting *Mulhiqat-i Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, p. 210 and p. 287. has an idea that even without such a recommendation circumstances as well as the humane temperament of Firoz Tughluq would not have allowed him to venture on Deccan campaign.
32. *Fer.*, I. 285.
33. This is not only in the East but in the West as well, and the so-called Wars of Religion in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries are cases in point. Rulers took the fullest advantage of the preaching of protestant reformers to gather as much power as possible in their own hands at the expense of the authority of the Pope, and when the clash came, were applauded by their co-religionists for their victories which, while they were for their own aggrandisement, were given out as having been won in the cause of the Faith. This is perhaps even more true of the opposite side. In the case of the Bahmani wars against Vijayanagar Ferishtah raves at the number of Hindus killed in actual battles or massacred in cold blood, but the fact remains that if the numbers thus related be given credence there would hardly be a Hindu left in the Deccan. And after all these "casualties" and "massacres" perpetrated by the soldiers of the Deccan, the Muslims continue to form only a very small proportions of the population in spite of the incessant influx of their co-religionists from Persia and overseas. If anything is

certain it is that without such an influx it was the Muslims not the Hindus who were perhaps in danger of dying out, especially as we do not come across any noted conversion to Islam till the last years of the Bahmani rule.

34. Gurti Venkata Rao, *Bahmani-Vijayanagar Relations* (proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Allahabad, p. 264.)

35. The work was contemporary with Muhammad I and is freely used by 'Abdu'l-Jabbar *op. cit.*, p. 231, who says that he possessed an original copy which was destroyed in the flood of the Musi.

Weight of a maund: The Ahmadnagar *man* is of 40 seers (not $163\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. as Sewell puts it, *A forgotten Empire*, London, 1900, Appendix B, p. 402), and it is possible Ferishtah may be thinking of that. But we must remember that the Madras *man* is and $12\frac{1}{2}$ seers and the Bombay *man* of 14 seers. In Hyderabad the *man* for sugar is 12 seers and 10r other commodities 40 seers. We must also take Ferishtah's habit of exaggerating matters like this.

36. Gurti Venkata Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

37. *Fer.*, I. 283. For succession to the Vijayanagar throne see n. 43 below.

38. Thus in Gurti Venkata Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 264. *Fer.*, has "Nagdeo." For the name of the ruler of Vijayanagar see note 43 below.

39. *Velug.*, Intro. pp. 11 and 12.

40. *Fer.*, I. 285-286. The name of the place used differently is "Filampatam," "Belampatam" and "Velampatam" which is no doubt Palampet, an ancient town in the Mulag Taluqa of the Warangal district. This has been somehow mixed up with a coastal town, Velampallam in *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 379. There is no evidence that the army of Muhammad I ever reached the Eastern coast. Palampet is still rich in ancient temples; see *Memoirs of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India*, No. 6. by Yazdani. Calcutta, 1922. It is

wrongly mentioned there that Palampet is forty miles north-west of Hanamkonda, the administrative headquarters of Warangal division, as the Mulag Taluqa where it is situated is to its north-east. Palampet (Palliampet on the Survey of India map 56 N/S. E.) is on 18°16' N., 79°51' E., and is about 50 miles north-east of Hanamkonda. A good metalled road has now been constructed from Mulag in continuation of the road from Hanamkonda. Palampet was once the headquarters of a province of the Warangal State according to *Bur.*, 31.

41. *Fer.*, I. 287. *Velug.*, Intro. 12.
42. Malwa and Gujarat were yet nominally dependent on Delhi, although the weak government of Firoz Tughluq allowed the governors a free hand. Gujarat did not declare its formal independence till 1396 and Malwa till 1406.
43. There is a clear indication in *Fer.*, I. 287 that "Dev Rai" died about this time. We are told, however, that Bukka reigned up to 1376 or 1377, but we also know that there was some squabble over the throne of Vijayanagar, the parties being the first Raya Harihara's two brothers Kampa and Bukka and after Kampa's death his son Samgama II. We find from a Nellore inscription that Kampa was Raya at least till 1355 (*Hultzsch, Epigraphia Indica*, II. 21). There is another inscription at Nellore which alludes to Samgama as Raya on 3-5-1356. On the other hand we find that Bukka regards his reign to have commenced in 1343, and he died about 1379, i. e., a year after Muhammad I's death. Sewell (*A Forgotten Empire*, London, 1900, p. 28) infers from these that the succession to Harihara was disputed and when Bukka got the upper hand he claimed to have succeeded Harihara, immediately after him.

What seems probable is that after Harihara's death in 1343 the throne was occupied by Kampa who reigned till 1355 and was succeeded by his son Samgama who died towards the end of 1362 or the beginning of 1363

It was only then that Bukka could ascend the throne, but he regarded the period 1343-1363 as one of usurpation and ante-dated his rule to 1343. Ferishtah, therefore, probably alludes to Kampa's death when he says that "about this time (764/1363) the Raya of Vijayanagar died." *C. H. I.*, III, p. 378, does not mention Kampa and Sangama II at all. Dr. Venkatramnayya, *Mujahid Shah Bahmani*, (Transactions of the Indian History Congress, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1941, p. 572) says that probably 764 H. in Newal Kishor's edition of Ferishtah is a misprint for 774 H. which would place the peace between Tilangana and the Deccan in Mujahid's reign. But even then the conundrum of the death of a ruler of Vijayanagar would not be solved as Bukka died some time between 26-12-1376 and 24-2-1377. I feel that the solution of the question is only possible if my surmise is accepted.

44. *Fer.*, I. 287.

45. *Fer.*, I. 288. This can only be an exaggeration of the usual pattern on Ferishtah's part. If all restraint of law and custom were given up, surely Government and society would have crumbled to dust, and that at the time of a disciplinarian of Muhammad Shah's calibre! This method of expression is often used by Ferishtah.

46. Gurti Venkata Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

47. *Fer.*, I. 288. Ferishtah quotes Mulla Dawud Bidri the author of *Tuhfatu's-Salatin* who says that he was present at the marriage and was then 12.

48. *Fer.*, I. 289. This method of recounting hardships at the hands of an enemy is often met with in chronicles.

49. *Fer.*, I. 290. This seems another exaggeration on Ferishtah's part as the Vijayanagaris had captured Mudgal only a few weeks before and it is difficult to believe that they had accumulated all these riches in a precarious fortress in such a short time.

50. *Fer.*, I. 290-291. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 37, says that Bhojmal Rai's real name was Mallinatha

and supports this by Rice's recension of certain inscriptions of 1355-1357.

Siruguppa, a market town tin Bellary district, Madras State 16°54' N., 77°38' E. *Kautalam*, a few miles from the above, in the midst of a plain; 16°9' N. 77°4' E. *Kroh* or *kos*, a measure of length of 3,000 miles; 5 K=8 miles.

51. All this in *Fer.*, I, 291.
52. It is remarkable that except for the booty captured, the Sultan did not exact any indemnity at all. He had in fact achieved what he had wanted and Vijayanagar was now regarded by him as a tributary state.
53. *Fer.*, I. 292.
54. *Fer.*, I. 293, says that Bahram Khan bribed some of Khan Muhammad's soldiers.
Patan or *Paithan* on the Godavari, once the capital of Western Chalukyas now headquarters of a taluqa in Aurangabad district, Hyderabad State, on the Bendusara river; 18°59' N., 75°46' E. *Shivgaon*, in the Ahmadnagar district of the Bombay State; 19° 15' N., 75° E.
55. *Fer.*, I., 294. *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 494, says that it was as a result of this rebellion that the principality of *Khandesh* was founded by Malik Raja, but I have not been able to verify this statement.
56. Shaikh Zainu'din Dawud, born at Shiraz in Persia in 701/1302 and arrived at Dulatabad when the capital of India was shifted there from Delhi in 1327. One of the greatest and most outspoken saints of the Deccan. Nasir Khan Faruqi named Zainabad in Khandesh after him. Died on 25-3-771/27-10-1369 and was buried at *Khuldabad*.
Bur. 33, gives a different version and says that when Bahram Khan betook himself to Shaikh Zainu'd-din the saint advised him to beg the Sultan's pardon. The Sultan actually pardoned him but ordered him to quit the kingdom.

57. "Verse of Laudation," Qur'an, XXI, 87.

لااله الا انت سبحانك انى كنت من الظالمين-فاستجيبنا له ونجينا
من الغم و كذا لك ننجى المحسنين-

(He said): "There is no god save Thee, be Thou Glorified. Veriety I have been a wrong-doer. Then we heard his prayer and saved him from anguish; thus We save believers."

58. Hazrat Shaikh Burhanu'd-din *Gharib*, a great Deccan saint, preceptor of Shaikh Zainu'd-din. Born at Hansi near Delhi, died at Daulatabad. His tomb is still a place of pilgrimage.

59. *Fer.*, I. 294.

60. Muhammad reigned according to *Bur.*, 31, for 17 years or 18 years and 7 months; *Tab.*, is obviously wrong with 13 years. Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi's *Tazkiratu'l-Muluk*, Mss. Asafiyah, 1081, fol. 8 a, and Amin Ahmad Razi's *Haft Iqlim*, Mss. Asafiyah, *Tarikh*, 2341, fol. 16 b, agree with 18 years and 7 months, while 'Abdu'l-lah el-Makki's *Zafaru'l-Walih* I, 159, puts down 17 years and 7 months as the duration of the reign. *Fer.*, says he died on 19-11-776/20-4-1375 thus making the duration 17 years, 8 months and 9 days, which comes midway between *Bur.*'s two periods and may be taken to be correct. *Rafi'u'd-din* is obviously wrong with 370 H., as the date of his death.

61. For this see Ch. 3, above.

62. *Fer.*, I. 295. "Thou soul in peace, return into the Lord, content in His good pleasure," Qur'an, Ixxxix, 27, 28.

63. *Mufarrihu 'l-Qulub*, quoted in 'Abdu'l-Jabbar, *op cit.*

64. Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi, *op cit.*, fol. 8 a.

65. *Bur.*, 31.

66. 'Abdu'l-Jabbar, *op cit.*, 282. *Tab.*, 408.

Shaikh 'Ainu'd-din *Bijapuri*, born at Nauju near Delhi in 706/1307, moved from Delhi to Dulatabad and thence to Bijapur where he arrived in 773/1372. Author of a number of works among which is *Mulhi-*

gat-i Tabaqat-i Nasiri which is unfortunately not available now. Surnamed *Ganju'l-Ulum* or "Treasury of Knowledge." Died at an advanced age on 27-6-795/10-5-1392. His tomb at Bijapur was built by Mahmud Gawan.

CHAPTER 5

THE INTERREGNUM

21.4.1375—16.11.1397

§ 1. *CULTURE ASPECTS*

THE HERITAGE

Muhammed I had found a small, ill-organised kingdom, but when he died he had built up a strong organism secure both at home and abroad with a well-developed central and provincial administration. It seemed to those who had an insight into the strength of the fabric that the kingdom was well worth a struggle, and we see that for twenty two years there is a continuous struggle for the throne of Gulbarga entailing a fairly regular series of murders and dethronements which do not end till the accession of Firoz to the throne in 800/1397. Except for Muhammad II who ruled peacefully for nearly twenty years and during whose reign the Deccan saw an advancement, culture and learning unsurpassed till then, not one of the other four Sultans had the fortune to rule for more than a few months. At the end of the period of this interregnum a new power emerges in the person of Firoz, but after reigning successfully for twenty-five years he too is dethroned, and it is only on the accession of Ahmed I that the succession to the throne is regularised

and the principle of primogeniture maintained right up till the fall of the dynasty.

FOREIGN INFLUENCES

During the period of a quarter of a century between the accession of Mujahid and the accession of Firoz a number of actors are interacting towards the formation of a peculiar Bahmani or Deccani culture. From the beginning the Deccan had been cut off from the North by the very fact of its independence of the Tughluq Empire, and since then other large territories had intervened between Delhi and Gulbarga by the independence of Gujarat, *Khandesh* and Malwa. Under these circumstances it was but natural that the inspiration which came to the Deccan from Delhi during the short political relationship with the *Khiljis* and the early Tughluqs, faded away completely.

It is interesting to find that an attempt was made by the Rayas of Tilangana and Vijayanagar to bring back the influence of Delhi to the Deccan by invoking the help of Firoz Tughluq against Muhammad I but it came to naught. From now onwards there are no signs of the hegemony of Delhi over the Deccan till the advent of the Mughals as Emperors of India.

With the northern influence more or less cut off, the handful of the Muslims of the Deccan had to get moral and material help from over the seas¹ and we find an increasing influx of a vigorous human element in the shape of New-comers from the coasts round the Persian Gulf and from further north round the Caspian Sea, i.e., from Iran, Iraq

and Arabia, in the shape of poets, *litterateurs*, saints, artisans, merchants, soldiers and adventurers. It is remarkable how, while the northern cultural influences are visibly declining, foreign influences are having their direct play on the Bahmani kingdom which was primarily based on purely Tughluq foundations in all its outward manifestations. It was these Newcomers who really came to settle down in the Deccan, some at the invitation of the Bahmani Sultans, others of their own accord, and they were later named *Gharibu'd-diyar* and *Afaqis* or Cosmopolitans by the northern colonists who, in course of time, began to call themselves *Dakhnis* or southerners *par excellence*.

CULTURAL INSPIRATION

An evidence of the influx of Iranians, Transoxonians and 'Iraqis can be found in the surnames of the civil and military personnel of the Bahmani state even in the time of Muhammad Shah, and Sistanis, Tabriziz, Mazendranis, Kirmanis and others of the same nature abound. With the increasing need for cultural inspiration, search began to be made for bringing over the learned and the best from overseas, and we find Muhammad II, himself a scholar of Arabic and Persian, attracting Arab and Persian poets to the Deccan in order to make the country the seat of learning and culture. He distributed large amounts of money to poets of merit, and was well-known as one who could perceive real worth and who freely distributed emoluments and stipends to those who deserved them.² He made Mir Fazlu'l-lah Inju³ Sadri Jahan, who in turn tried to call *Khwaja* Shamsu'd-din Hafiz of Shiraz to the Deccan. A large amount of money was sent to the poet as his expenses for the journey to the

Deccan, but he seems to have been in debt and he utilised part of the amount in paying them off, distributing some among poor widows and his own maternal nephews. He kept a small amount for his own expenses to India, but when he arrived at Lar he came across some persons who had nothing to live upon and he gave to them all that he possessed. Here also he met two merchants who had mercantile relations with India, namely *Khwaja Zainu'd-din Hamadani* and *Khwaja Muhammad Garzuni*, who undertook to provide him the money he needed and brought him to Ormuz where a special Bahmani boat was lying at anchor to take him over to the Deccan port, Dabul. As he stepped into the boat, however, he encountered a strong wind and the consequent storm, so Hafiz gave up the idea of going to India, and when once more on land composed a beautiful *ghazal* and sent it to Inju. On hearing the story Muhammad II said that as the *Khwaja* had started for India he should be recompensed and sent Mullah Muhammad Qasim Mashhadi to Shiraz with presents worth one thousand golden Tankas.⁴

Muhammad was himself a poet of some note and his three lines which are quoted by Ferishtah are fairly elegant and lucid in style.⁵ He spoke both Arabic and Persian well and appointed teachers in various centres of the kingdom such as Gulbarga, Bidar, Qandhar, Ellichpur, Daulatabad, Junair, Chaul, Dabul and other large cities and towns, and also granted scholarships to students who wished to study the Islamic lore. Fazlu'l-lah himself educated the princes of the Royal family and later rose to high office. It is noticeable that this early arrival of Iranians and 'Iraqis from over the

seas was viewed with equanimity by even the most thoughtful, and it is significant that Malik Saifu'd-din *Ghori* is related to have admonished the king that he should always give preference to the progeny of the Apostle of Islam i. e., Syeds from Karbala, Najaf and Medinah as well as nobles with ancestral traditions.⁶

This immigration of Arabs, Persians and Turks had a great effect upon the culture and future history of the Deccan. Foreign influence was already felt in the reign of Muhammad I and was visible in the matter of military as well as civil architecture such as the Gulbarga mosque and the fort of Panah-i-Islam at Bhingar.⁷ The Deccan possessed a great figure in Malik Saifu'd-din *Ghori* who was the right hand man of five Sultans and who must have taken a decisive part in putting the kingdom on a sound basis. After his death on 22.7.799/21.4.1397 the field seems to have been clear for any adventurer who might step in, and the episode of the Turk *Taghalchin* who blinded and deposed Muhammad II's son and successor *Ghiyasu'd-din* and was strong enough to put a puppet, *Shamsu'd-din*, on the throne, indicated the way the wind was blowing. This almost imperceptible beginning of the problem of the *Afaqis* became a question of great magnitude in future years.⁸

Along with this influence which was definitely foreign in character, we find the native Hindu also influencing the cultural structure of the Bahmanis. The third of this line, *Mujahid*, was affectionately called by his subjects by a purely Hindu sobriquet *Balwant* or the Strong.⁹ Moreover, although time had not arrived for intermarriages between the Muslims and the Hindus which we find in the reign of

Firoz later, the relations between the upholders of the two great cultures must have been excellent, for we already perceive the influence of Hindu culture creeping, however slowly, even in the sacred buildings of the Bahmanis. From Mujahid I right up to Firoz all the Bahmani sovereigns are buried in a series of mausoleums which are collectively known as the *Haft Gumbad* or the Seven Domes, and although the architecture of the tombs of the sovereigns from Mujahid to Shamsu'd-din has extricated itself from Iranian influence perceived in the Jami' Masjid of the Fort and has reverted to the orthodox Tughluq pattern of its sloping walls, flat domes and plain exterior, nevertheless the western or prayer niche of the tomb of Ghiyasu'd-din shows a marked Hindu influence which was to develop further in Firoz's tomb and in Afzal Khan's mosque ¹⁰ and entirely replace the Tughluq tradition in the course of time.

In a word, the twenty two years' interregnum between the death of Muhammad I and the accession of Firoz are really a period of struggle between the cultures emerging into an atmosphere of an attempted synthesis of purely Hindu forms, the foreign influence represented by the Afaqis who were mostly Iranians and 'Iraqis, and the northern or Tughluq tradition represented by the "Dakhnis."

§ 2. POLITICAL ASPECTS

A. 'ALAU'D-DIN MUJAHID

21.4.1375 - 16.4.1378.

PERSONAL QUALITIES

Muhammad I was succeeded by his son (by Malik Saifu'd-

din Ghori's daughter), 'Alau'd-din Mujahid, on 17.10.776/21.3.1375. He was then only 19 and reigned for a short period of less than three years, being murdered on 17.12.779/16.4.1378¹². When he ascended the throne, Shaikh Siraju'd-din Junaidi sent his own shirt and turban which he wore on the occasion, thus ensuring the support of the Muslim divines of his day,¹³ and when he started on his Vijayanagar campaign he expressly went to his preceptor for prayers for his victory. It is said that the new king was fully instructed in all the arts of peace and war, and in addition to his excellent command of the Turki and Persian languages, he was also efficient as a soldier being a good swordsman and archer and an adept in riding.¹⁴ He seems to have been a person of extraordinary dimensions and strength which earned him the sobriquet of *Balwant*, and it is related that he could sometimes consume thirty seers of food in one sitting.¹⁵ While still Crown Prince he had broken the collar bone of his opponent, Mubarak, the Royal Betel-leaf Bearer, in a wrestling bout. It is mentioned that when he was campaigning against Vijayanagar he heard that a ferocious lion was in the vicinity of the royal camp, and with only seven attendants he proceeded to kill the beast. It is said that he waited till the animal was almost within a stone's throw of his person, and when so near, shot him with an arrow which pierced his heart and killed him outright. At this he exclaimed that if his arrow had missed the mark he would have attacked him single-handed with a sword or a dagger.¹⁶

On his accession to the throne he kept his grandfather Malik Saifu'd-din Ghori as a Prime Minister but made certain other changes in the administration, one of which was that

he replaced Musnad-i 'Ali Khan Muhammad by A'zam-i Humayun as Tarafdar of Daulatabad.¹⁷ This change was to have repercussions on the fortunes of the dynasty.

VIJAYANAGAR

Practically the whole of young Mujahid's short reign was taken up by a war of nerves against Vijayanagar, and this was continued in the reign of his successor Dawud. As has been mentioned above the Raya of Vijayanagar at the time of Mujahid's accession was Bukka who seems to have reigned on till January or February 1377 and was succeeded by his son Harihara II. It was right in the beginning of the reign that Mujahid wrote to Bakka that as the Raichur Doab had always been the bone of contention between the Deccan and Vijayanagar so it would be better if the Tungabhadra were fixed as the frontier between the two states and the fortress of Bankapur be handed over to him. The Raya thereupon retorted that Raichur and Mudgal had always been appendages of Vijayanagar territory, and these as well as the elephants which had been taken away by Muhammad Shah should be handed over to him in order that there might be permanent peace between the two kingdoms. Mujahid now put the whole kingdom in charge of Malik Saifu'd-din Ghorî and immediately started southwards with a large army consisting of levies from Daulatabad, Bidar and Berar along with five hundred elephants, and crossed the Tungabhadra. The policy he seems to have adopted was an extremely bold one, that of encircling the capital of the southern state from all sides and cutting off its communications, but he himself was entrapped as the lines of his own

communications were lengthened to an inordinate degree and, as will be seen later, he was within an ace of being done to death himself.¹⁸

On reaching Adoni the Sultan ordered Safdar *Khan* Sistani to lay siege to the citadel, and Amiru'l-Umra Bahadur *Khan* and A'zam-i-Humayun to proceed to Vijayanagar, while he himself started for Gangawati on the Tungabhadra by slow marches as he had heard that Bukka was encamped there. This seems to have been a ruse¹⁹, as the Raya, instead of going up north, had put the capital in charge of nobles and elders and had retired to the jungles south of his capital with the intention of offering guerilla resistance to an enemy which he could not hope to subdue on the open field. When Mujahid arrived outside the walls of Vijayanagar he perceived that the city had been strengthened by fortifications on the hills which surrounded it, and finding that the Raya had taken to the jungles south of the city he went as far as Sita Ban Rameshwar which was "600 kroh" from the capital. Mujahid pursued him for nearly six months without any definite engagement whatsoever. It was only when the Raya had fallen ill that he returned to the capital and on arrival there shut himself up in a citadel which was situated on the top of a hillock. The king ordered Bahadur *Khan* to pursue the enemy while he himself was confident enough to go to Sita Ban Rameshwar. It is said that on arriving at the place he repaired a mosque which had been built by 'Alau'd-din *Khilji*.²⁰

Ferishtah relates how there were two roads from Rameshwaram to the capital of Vijayanagar, one of which, though broader than the other, was full of ambushes where the

enemy might be hiding. The Sultan therefore chose to return by the narrower, though a safer road. Even here he had evidently to fight his way back as it is related how his army was continuously successful against the enemy. At last he reached the banks of a lake which separated him from the "hill fortress of the Raya." On a hillock there perched a temple sacred to Sri Ranga, and this temple was looted. The battle was now joined between the two forces. While the passages at arms were going on most fiercely the youthful Sultan threw away his royal umbrella and with just one soldier, Mahmud Afghan, crossed the lake on his black steed the Sher-Rag or 'Lion-veined'. He was, however, recognised by a soldier belonging to the Vijayanagar army who immediately attacked the royal person, but the king killed him with one stroke of his sword.²¹

In the battle itself A'zam-i Humayun commanded on the left and Bahadur Khan was on the right while Muqarrab Khan son of Safdar Khan Sistani was in charge of the artillery. Muqarrab Khan was ordered to take gun carriages to the front line and begin to bombard the enemy. This was effectively done and the enemy was within an ace of being routed when the Raya appeared with a huge army of eight thousand cavalry and six lacs of infantry which turned the scales. No quarters were shown on both sides and there was a general massacre in which Muqarrab Khan was also killed. The Sultan's cousin, Dawud Khan, who had been left behind to guard the entrance to the road, hurried the fray himself with seven thousand infantry. He fought in the most splendid style and though, it is related, he had three of his horses killed and he was himself forced to the ground;

he did not leave his grip on the royal ensign which he had been holding. The king was very much upset on seeing Dawud as he thought that if the head of the roadway was to go in possession of the enemy not one Muslim would be allowed to escape. As he now heard that the gateway had been captured by the enemy, he himself hurried to the place, made the enemy fly and did not leave till the last of his soldiers had left.²²

Mujahid now knew that it was difficult to conquer Vijayanagar, and he, therefore, feigned a retreat towards Adoni which had been beleaguered by his army for many months.²³ The Sultan's army was hard pressed and in spite of written agreement between the two sides, when Chenappa Odeyar arrived with reinforcements, the garrison became defiant and actually cut off and fired the head of one of the Sultan's deputies towards the royal tent.²⁴ There was now no hope of Bahmani reinforcements and to add to the difficulties there was much loss of life in the royal army owing to pestilence and famine.

There seems to have been an engagement before Mujahid's final retreat, and it is argued from an undated inscription in the temple at Bolur, that the Vijayanagaris imprisoned two Muslim officers, Saifu'din Ghori himself and Prince Fath Khan,²⁵ and that the Deccan army must have been defeated and forced to fall back towards the frontier. We are aware that Malik Saifu'd-din Ghori did take additional forces to Adoni on hearing of the straits to which the royal army had been put,²⁶ and Mujahid did return immediately afterwards, so it is possible that this reading of the inscription may be correct. However that may be, it was

not long before Saifu'd-din *Ghori* was with *Mujahid*, and he told the king plainly that as *Adoni* was situated on an elevated plain strategy demanded that the forts in the *Tungabhadra-Krishna Doab* from *Goa* to *Belgaum* right up to *Bankapur* should first be reduced before an attempt is made on *Adoni* itself. *Mujahid* thereupon retraced his steps and crossed the *Tungabhadra* on his way home. When he arrived at *Mudgal* he set out for shikar with barely four hundred boon companions including *Dawud Khan*, *Musnad-i 'Ali Khan Muhammad*, *Safdar Khan Sistani* and *A'zam-i Humayun*. *A'zam-i Humayun* and *Safdar Khan*, who were always loyal and faithful to the royal person, were ordered to go to their charges, i. e., *Berar* and *Daulatabad* respectively, while *Mujahid* himself crossed the *Krishna* on a fishing expedition.²⁷ The stage was now set for the worst, and *Mas'ud Khan*, son of *Mubarak* the *Betel-leaf Bearer*, whose collar bone the king had broken while still a prince, and *Dawud Khan* who had been scolded for leaving his post at *Adoni*, conspired against the king and stabbed him to death while asleep in his tent. Strong as he was, *Mujahid*, with his bowels all out, rushed to the murderer but was overpowered and decapitated. This was on 17.12.779/16.4.1378.

B. DAWUD I

16.4.1378—21.5.1378.²⁹

Immediately on *Mujahid's* murder *Dawud* was proclaimed king of the *Deccan* and all those present paid homage to him. There was, however, great turmoil in the kingdom, and *Safdar Khan Sistani* and *A'zam-i Humayun* who had heard of the king's murder at *Bijapur*, did not proceed to the

royal camp to pay the usual homage to the new king but continued their way to the north. Harihara II of Vijayanagar pursued the retreating Bahmani army, and crossing the Tungabhadra laid siege to Raichur.³⁰ The capital itself was full of rumour and conflict. There were apparently two factions at work there, one in favour of Dawud and the other led by a stalwart woman, Mujahid's sister Ruh Parwar Agha, which wanted to place Bahman Shah's youngest son Muhammad on the throne. Mujahid's father-in-law, the old Saifu'd-din Ghori, could not favour the regicide regime, but his patriotism got the better of him, and out of regard for the unity and safety of the land he actually paid homage to the usurper. In spite of this, however, Ruh Parwar Agha managed to strengthen her hold on the court circles by her position, by the feeling of remorse which every one had towards her and by the free gifts of money which she made for the repose of the soul of her dead brother.

Anyhow it was not long after Dawud's accession that an opportunity was offered to avenge Mujahid's death. It is related that Ruh Parwar hired the services of a royal slave³¹ named Bakah, who had received his promotion at the hands of the late king, to do the deed. So, when Dawud was attending Friday prayers on 22.1.780/21.5.1378 in the Great Mosque in Gulbarga fort he was stabbed by Bakah, while in the act of prostration before God. Bakah was himself immediately sat upon and beheaded by Musnad'i 'Ali Khan Muhammad³² who was present at the mosque himself. Dawud was taken to the place in a precarious condition followed by free fight between the rival factions within the precincts of the mosque itself. Ruh Parwar's party, however,

got the upper hand, and it was only after Dawud had received news of the defeat of his own partisans that he gave up the ghost and breathed his last.³³

C. MUHAMMAD II

21.5.1378/20.4.1397

Ruh Parwar Agha had achieved what she wanted and had avenged her brother's death. Now the question arose as to who should succeed him. Dawud had a son named Sanjar who was then nine years old, and *Khan* Muhammad wanted to place him on the Turquoise throne, but he found the gates of the palace locked and bolted against him by Ruh Parwar who declared that a usurper's son had no right whatsoever to succeed his father. *Khan* Muhammad hurried to Malik Saifu'd-din *Ghori's* residence where he had been staying as a recluse since Mujahid's death, as he thought that, being popular with every one, "Hindu and Muslim, male and female", he might be able to give the right lead, but *Ghori* said that Sanjar was in the palace itself and it was impossible for him to do anything in the matter. In the meantime Ruh Parwar had blinded Sanjar and put Bahman Shah's grandson, Muhammad, on the throne.⁴³

CHARACTER OF THE REIGN

Muhammad II's fairly long reign of nineteen years was one of the most peaceful in the whole Bahmani history. He was essentially a man of culture and the attainments of his reign in that line have already been dealt with. His first act was to imprison *Khan* Muhammad, who had been a party to Mujahid's murder, at Sagar where he soon ended

his days. On his accession to the throne he re-appointed Malik Saifu'd-din Ghori as Prime Minister and made it a point always to seek his opinion in time of need. As a peace-loving monarch he found means to end the hostilities which had been going on with Vijayanagar ever since Muhammad I's reign. Although it is related in a certain inscription that Harihara II expelled the Muslims from Goa³⁶, it is possible that the Bahmani arms again reached Adoni where they are said to have been repulsed in 1380 by Chenappa, nephew of Harihara II.³⁷ It is further mentioned that in 1384 Harihara's army went to Tilangana but was repulsed at Kottakunda north-west of Warangal, the day ending in the death of Saluva Rama, a general in the Vijayanagar army.³⁸ Again it is mentioned that in a battle fought between the Bahmani and the Vijayanagar forces a Vijayanagari general Baichappa distinguished himself against the Bahmanis and captured Rangini in 1395.³⁹ All this is rather obscure and there seem to be no more than desultory skirmishes. In the meantime Harihara laid siege to Raichur itself but eventually he had to raise it and to open pourparlers resulting in his agreeing to pay tribute to the Sultan.⁴⁰

The king's reign was marred by an insurrection at Sagar towards the end of his reign. He had appointed Bahau'd-din son of Ramazan Daulatabadi to the Thanadari of Sagar. The Thanadar's two sons, Muhammad and Khwaja, however, were involved in a case of embezzlement, and when they were arraigned for the offence they rose in insurrection and forced their father to join hands with them. The Sultan appointed a Turkish manumitted slave named Yusuf Azhdar against the two but he was overpowered in a number of

engagements, and it was not by force of arms but through treachery on the part of Bahau'd-din's men, who put him to death, that the fort of Sagar was finally taken.⁴¹

QUESTION OF SUCCESSION

Muhammad solved the question of succession in an able manner, and had it not been for unforeseen circumstances which followed his death, there would have been no question of any further ill-feeling between the members of the royal House. For a long time Muhammad had had no issue and it was the two surviving sons of his predecessor Dawud, Firoz Khan and Ahmad Khan, whom he had virtually adopted. He saw that they received the best possible instruction in literature as well as polo and archery and all that made one fit for a high position, and appointed the celebrated Mir Fazlu'l-lah Inju to be their tutor. Muhammad used to call the elder Firoz his heir and successor and sometimes even made him sit on the turquoise throne by his side. He betrothed the two brothers to his own two daughters.

But things changed with the birth of Ghiyasu'd-din, and his natural affection went in favour of his own son so that when on his death-bed he expressed the wish that Ghiyasu'd-din should succeed him and that his sons-in-law Firoz and Ahmad should pay homage to him.⁴²

Muhammad died to typhoid fever on 21.7.799/20.4.1397. The next day died the grand old man of the Deccan Malik Saifu'd-din Ghorī who had lived through five reigns and who was the chief minister of the Bahmani state in the time of the storm and stress of four rulers.⁴³

D. GHYASU'D-DIN TAHAMTAN ⁴⁴

20.4.1397—14.6.1397

That Muhammad's elder son, *Ghiyasu'd-din* succeeded to the throne without any difficulty. His brothers-in-law, *Firoz Khan* and *Ahmad Khan* were too cultured not to be loyal to Muhammad's memory and they were followed by every one of importance in paying homage to the youthful sovereign. He began his reign well, distributed robes of honour to all the highly placed officials and confirmed the governors of provinces in their offices. When news of *Safdar Khan Sistani's* death arrived from *Ellichpur* he appointed *Safdar's* son *Salabat Khan* Governor of *Berar* with the title of *Musnad-i 'Ali*, while *Muhammad Khan* son of *A'zam-i Humayun Khan* *Muhammad* was appointed *Sar-naubat* and *Ahmad Beg Qazwini* *Peshwa*.⁴⁵ This distribution of high offices among Persian newcomers was not to the liking of a section of the *Gulbarga* aristocracy which consisted for the most part of the old nobility and the Turkish faction in the capital headed by the unscrupulous *Taghalchin* who wished to be prime minister himself.⁴⁶ The king, being young and inexperienced, openly said that what he had done was right and he could not possibly appoint such a low person to the high office of Prime Ministership in any case. This made *Taghalchin* not only despair of attaining the high honour but actually afraid of his personal safety, and unscrupulous as he was, he had recourse to a base stratagem.

Taghalchin had a pretty daughter who was accomplished in music and other arts which make a girl attractive. Her accomplishments were brought to the notice of the king who was much intrigued by what he heard about her. This was

exactly what Taghalchin wanted. He arranged a big feast at which the king was also invited and saw that nothing should be left in the shape of wine and merriment which should increase Ghiyasu'd-din's sexual propensities, and appointed one of his slaves named Tarab to see that the king was served with as much wine as he asked for. When the king was dead drunk and had virtually lost his senses he whispered to him to dismiss the company as it was only then that he could bring his daughter to him, Taghalchin now went upstairs and came back not with his daughter but with a drawn dagger. In an instant the slave Tarab held the helpless Ghiyasu'd-din's hands fast at the back, and when the poor boy tried to escape and scream he was dragged by the hair by Taghalchin who blinded him by the dagger point forthwith. It is said that Taghalchin now called the king's attendants from outside one by one saying that the king wished to see them and murdered them to the number of twenty-four.

After the terrible deed, the blind Ghiyasu'd-din was sent to Sagar as a prisoner and his step-brother Shamsu'd-din put on the throne. This was on the 17.9.799/14.6.1397.⁴⁷

E. SHAMSU'D-DIN DAWUD II⁴⁸

14.6.1397—16.11.1397

Taghalchin now seemed to have got what he wanted and the first thing which the boy king was made to do was to promote him to be the Malik Na'ib and Mir Jumla of the kingdom.⁴⁹ The manumitted slave girl who was Shamsu'd-din's mother was now raised to the rank and title of Makh-duma-i Jahan or Dowager Queen and the advice she gave to

her son, who was so unexpectedly made to wade his way through blood to the throne, was to act entirely at the bidding of the new Malik Na'ib.

It was, however, not long after the boy's accession that Bahmani politics began to take a new shape. It has been related before that Firoz Khan and Ahmad Khan had been loyal to the will of their father-in-law Muhammad II and had paid homage to his son Ghiyasu'd-din who had succeeded him in spite of the fact that they had been brought up like his own sons and given instruction in the best style. But when Ghiyasu'd-din was foully blinded and dethroned, their wives, who were Ghiyasu'd-din's own sisters, urged their husbands to exact vengeance for the wrong that had been done to their brother. Seeing that his power and influence were at a stake, Taghalchin tried to persuade Shamsu'd-din to imprison Firoz and Ahmad and went to the king's mother asking her to have them done to death as they wanted to dethrone her son. On hearing of the conspiracy against them, the two brothers fled to Sagar and brought over to their side one Siddhu who was the officer in charge of the town.⁵⁰ They now sent a message to Gulbarga protesting their loyalty to the king but demanding that as Taghalchin had been guilty of gross misconduct by putting out the eyes of the late king he should be dismissed. The reply they got was ofcourse expected that Taghalchin would in any case remain prime minister and the virtual ruler of the land.

Firoz and Ahmad now proceeded to Gulbarga with just three thousand horsemen hoping all the while that as every one was thoroughly disgusted with Malik Na'ib's behaviour, the army would come over to their side. Arriving on the

banks of the Bithora Firoz proclaimed himself king making his younger brother Ahmad Khan Amiru'l-Umra, Mir Fazlu'l-lah Inju Wakil or Prime Minister and Siddhu Sar-naubat. He had the blind boy *Ghiyasu'd-din* with him and together they advanced to within 4 kroh from the capital. But the expected did not come true and the royal army which was sent against them by Taghalchin beat Firoz at Marqul and forced him to fly back to Sagar.⁵¹

The brothers now had recourse to a ruse. They sent Mir *Ghiyasu'd-din*, son of Mir Fazlu'l-lah Inju, and Syed Kamalu'd-din along with a number of Syeds and learned men to Taghalchin and Queen *Makhduma-i Jahan* with the message that they repented for what they had done and wished to be allowed to return to Gulbarga. Their protestations were accepted and a covenant was drawn up under which they were given perfect security of life. As they were on the point of leaving for the capital a Kashmiri who appeared to be half mad, was seen coming out of the city, and addressing Firoz as *Roz Afzun* or "Ever Growing" saying that he had come in order to put him on the throne. The brothers took this to be a good omen, and with a certain equanimity entered Gulbarga quietly. But when once they were there they heard from Firoz's wife, who was the king's step-sister, that their life was in danger.⁵² Firoz now allied himself with the party opposed to the court group which consisted of men like *Azhdar Khan*, *Malik Shitab*, *Syed Tajud-din Jakajot*, *Qutbu'l-Mulk* etc., and went to the darbar with a retinue of twelve followed by three hundred others who were fully armed, and entered the hall in twos and threes. There was a free fight between Ahmad Khan's

men and the guard outside the darbar hall, but Ahmad persisted and at last entered the hall after putting to death Taghalchin's sons. Everything was now in disorder. There was a general flight of the Darbaris and the king himself fled to the basement of the palace.⁵³ Firoz now himself ascended the throne and ordered Shamsu'd-din and Taghalchin to be arrested and enchained. Taghalchin was killed by a stroke of the sword by Ghiyasu'd-din while Shamsu'd-din was blinded and allowed to proceed to Mecca with his mother and given an annual allowance of five thousand gold pieces. Shamsu'd-din lived on till 816/1414 when he died at Medina.⁵⁴

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE FIVE REIGNS

Looking back on the last twenty two years we find that although a part of this period was one of turmoil and unrest there are one or two features which acted as a counter-balance to this. The first is that out of these years, nineteen are taken up by the progressive and cultured reign of Muhammad II which is by itself a landmark in the history of Deccan, as it was he who attempted to make the land the centre of culture and erudition. Had it not been for the conspiracy headed by that ambitious Turk Taghalchin there would probably have been an ordered succession to the throne. The policy of progress was followed by Firoz in later years but this very thing indirectly became the cause of the great problem of the Dakhnis and Afaqis which was to make headway in the Bidar period of Bahmani history. Moreover it is remarkable that after Dawud I's death there is an almost entire cessation of hostilities between the Deccan

and Vijayanagar, which can only be explained by the comparative strength acquired by the Bahmani kingdom during the activity of Muhammad I and the peaceful progress under Muhammad II. It is indeed strange that while there were repeated regicides during that period the structure of the state remained as firm as possible, and that there was complete peace on the frontiers of the kingdom. It only remained for Firoz to weld it even more firmly and for Ahmad to change over from the regicide atmosphere of Gulbarga to the healthier and more sedate atmosphere of Bidar and thus to put the dynasty and the kingdom on a basis even firmer than before. Had it not been for the factional spirit of some of those in high places the kingdom would not have broken up as it did in later years.

NOTES

1. A. M. Siddiqi, *Organisation of the Central and Provincial Government of the Deccan under the Bahmanides*, All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore Session, 1935, p. 463 f., says that within three quarters of a century after the foundation of the kingdom, those who came to the Deccan "from the North" were regarded as foreigners and looked upon with suspicion and contempt. But this is not correct, as there was no influx of Newcomers "from the North" at all. The influx was rather from overseas, from Iran, Iraq, the Caspian littoral and the west.
2. This is brought out by A. M. Siddiqi in his paper, "*Muhammad II the founder of the Medieval Culture of the Deccan*" (Indian History Congress, Hyderabad Session, 1941).
3. Mir Fazlu'l-lah, pupil of Mulla Sa'du'd-din Taftazani, the great Arabic scholar; *Fer.*, I. 303. For Sa'du'd-din see Browne, *Persian Literature under the Tartar Dominions*, Cambridge, 1920, pp. 353-354.

He lived from 1322 to 1389 or 1394.

4. All this in *Fer.*, I. 302.

Hafiz, the celebrated poet of Shiraz, c. 1315-1388. There is a fine notice of the poet in Browne, *op. cit.*, The *ghazal* is found on p. 97 of the diwan printed in Bombay in 1309 H. and is of 10 distiches. Browne has 4 distiches on pages 286 and 287 with their beautiful rendering by Miss Gertrude Bell as follows :

دے باغم بسر بردن جهان یکسر نمی ارزد

بے بفروش دلق ماکزین بہتر نمی ارزد

شکوه تاج سلطانی کہ نیم جان دراو درج است

کلاه دلکش است اما ترک سر نمی ارزد

بکوئے مے فروشانش بجایمے بر نمی گیرند

زہے سجادہ تقوئے کہ یک ساغر نمی ارزد

بس آسان می نمود اول غم دریا پیوئے سود

غلط کردم کہ یک موجش بصد گوهر نمی ارزد

"Not all the sum of earthly happiness
Is worth the bowed head of a moment's pain,
And if I sell for wine my dervish dress
Worth more than what I sell is what I gain."

"The Sultan's crown with priceless jewels set,
Encircles fear of earth and constant dread ;
It is a head-dress much desired—and yet
Art sure 'tis worth the danger to the head ?"

"Down in the quarter where they sell red wine
My holy carpet scarce would fetch a cup—
How brave a pledge of piety is mine,
Which is not worth a goblet in foaming up !"

"Full easy seemed the sorrow of the sea
Lightened by hope of gain—hope flew to fast !
A hundred pearls were poor indemnity,
Not worth the blast."

Of course it was not "Mahmud Shah" as Browne says on p. 285 but Muhammad II who invited the poet to India. See below note 34.

5. The lines as quoted in Fer., I 302 are :

خضر بدسوداست از بہتر متاع عافیت

می روم این جنس را از جائے دیگرسی خرم

I am sure Khizr, the apostle of Eternity, is unreliable if a state of mental repose is required, so leave me to betake myself elsewhere for the purchase of that commodity.

عافیت درسپہ کارخون فاسدسی کند

رخصتے اے دل کہ ازالماس نشترسی خورم

Mental repose contaminates blood in human veins, so O heart (that feels), leave me and let me be pricked by diamond.

آن جا کہ لطف دوست دہد منصب مراد

یخت سیاہ و طالع میمون برابر است

So long as the goodness of a friend helps to fulfil my object it matters little whether it leads to good or bad.

6. See A. M. Siddiqi, *Malik Saifu'd-din Ghorī* (Indian History Congress Proceedings, Calcutta, 1939, p. 701 f), quoting 'Abdu'l-Jabbar, *Tazkira-i Salatin-i Dakan*.
7. See previous chapter, section entitled, "The army", p. 80.
8. As I have said in note 1, it was not the Newcomers from the North who created the problem but Arabs, 'Iraqis and Iranians who were welcomed to the Deccan when their number was small and were called there by culture-loving kings like Muhammad II and later by Firoz, but whose presence began to be resented when their population increased and when they began to have a hand in the Government itself.

9. Date of Ghori's death, *Fer.*, I. 303. Rafi'd-din Shirazi, *Tazakiratu'l-Mulu*, MSS. Asafiyah, Tarikh, 1081. fol. 8 a. The name of the work is wrongly stated as "Tuhfatu'l-Mulk".
10. *Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department*, 1925-26, pp. 5-7. The name of Dawud's successor is wrongly put down as Mahmud, it was really Muhammad; see note 43. The report follows Ferishtah who is wrong in naming him as Mahmud.
11. For the date of Mujahid's accession and death refer to Venkat Ramanayya, *Mujahid Shah Bahmani*, op. cit. where he considers Ferishtah's dates, i.e., 19.11.776/21.4.1375—17.12.779/16.4.1378 as correct. He also refers to Mujahid's coins, the latest of which is dated 776, while the earliest of Dawud is dated 777; see Codrington, *Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty*, (Num. Chr., 1883). The accession name, 'Alau'd-din, is clear on his coins; see Speight, *Coins of the Bahmani Kings*, *Isl. Cul.*, 1935, at page 290.
12. *Fer.*, I. 296.
13. *Taz.* fol. 8 a.
14. *Taz.* 8 a; 'Abdu'l-Jabbar, p. 388. *Fer.*, 296 quotes from Bahman Namah :
 زگهواره چون تیربیرون نهاد به تیروکمان دست و بازو کشاد
 "As he stretched his legs out of his cradle,
 He opened his hands and arms for the arrow and the bow."
15. *Taz.* 8 a. This seems to be an exaggeration.
16. *Fer.*, I. 297.
17. *Fer.*, I. 296.
18. Venkat Ramanayya, *Mujahid Shah Bahmani*; op. cit. Sewell and Aiyangar, *Historical Inscriptions of South India*, Madras, 1932, pp. 200 and 201; Gurti Venkata Rao, *Bahmani-Vijayanagar Relations* (Indian History Congress, Allahabad, 1939), pp. 264 ff. Bankapur, small town in Dharwar district of the Bombay State; 14°55' N, 75°16' E.
19. *Fer.*, I. 296. The scene changes from Gangawati on

the Tungabhadra to the city of Vijayanagar in an instant and the explanation of the obscure passage I have offered seems to be the only one possible.

Gangawati, headquarters of a Taluqa of that name in Raichur District, Hyderabad State ; $15^{\circ}26'N$, $76^{\circ}32'E$.

20. Probably this was the time when Bukka died and was succeeded by Harihara II. See Venkat Ramanayya, *Mujahid*, where it is related that Bukka died between 26.12.1376 and 24.2.1377. He says that Bukka was an old man and his constant movement must have told on his constitution. The learned doctor seems to disbelieve that Mujahid ever reached Rameshwaram and quotes Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 42, to prove his point. Briggs also, in his footnote to p. 332 of his *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, is of opinion that Mujahid went to a place called Rameshwaram or Cape Ramas south of Goa. We must, however, remember that *Fer.*, I. 298 distinctly says that practically the whole of the south paid tribute to Vijayanagar and that the place was 600 kroh from the capital. Dr. Venkat Ramanayya refers to a copperplate *Epig. Car. xii. kg 43*, to the effect that Harihara "established again the kingdom acquired by his father," which clearly shows that practically the whole state must at least have been overrun by Mujahid. It should here be mentioned that Ferishtah was aware that Goa and Malabar as well as south India either belonged to Vijayanagar or paid tribute to her, so he could not have mixed up the two Rameshwarams ; *Fer.*, I. 298.

Rameshwaram, in the Madura district of the Madras State on the island of Pamban ; it is the site of one of the most venerated of Hindu temples, said to have been built by Sri Ramachandraji for his success against Ravana ; $9^{\circ}17'N$, $79^{\circ}19'E$. *Cape Ramas*, about 25 miles of South of Goa ; $15^{\circ}5'N$, $73^{\circ}55'E$.

21. Sewell does not seem to be aware (p. 43) that Shri Ranga temple has been expressly mentioned by *Fer.*, I. 297. The lake may have been at Kamalapuram, but

it must be remembered that Sri Ranga temple is situated right inside the innermost fortification next to the 'Zenana Enclosure.' If this is the temple which is meant, Mujahid must have penetrated right into the capital. There may have been another Sri Ranga temple outside the fortifications, but if so, no trace of it remains to-day. See Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, Delhi, 1933, plan on Frontispiece.

22. Dawud is called Mujahid's "uncle" by *Fer.*, I, 299, although he was really his cousin. See Nizamud-din Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Lucknow, 1875, where Dawud is called Mujahid's ابن عم or cousin. But see

Burhan-i-Ma'asir, 36, which calls Dawud "Mujahid's younger brother." The episode of Dawud's alleged retrogression is not mentioned in *Burhan*, 35, which says that Dawud was outwardly faithful but really wished to ascend the throne.

23. Ferishtah says that the seige lasted nine months while *Taz.* has one year.
24. Venkata Ramanayya, *Mujahid*, op. cit.
25. *Epig. Car.* V. Bk. 3.
26. *Fer.*, I. 299.
27. *Fer.*, I. 300.
28. Thus in *Fer.*, I. 300. *Bur.* 35 says that the king was murdered on the banks of the Krishna. *Taz.* 86, has, however, a different story. It says that the king arrived quite safely at Ahsanabad-Gulbarga and pitched his camp outside the town preferring to enter the capital on an auspicious occasion. Here there was an altercation between Mujahid and an Abyssinian and the next day Mujahid's headless trunk was found lying on the throne.
29. Only Ferishtah gives the date of his accession, 17.12.779/16.4.1378, and says that he reigned for one month and five days, while *Tab.* has one month and three days. This would fix the date of his murder on 22.1.780 or 24.1.780. We know that Dawud was done to death while offering his Friday prayers,

and as 22.10.780/21.5.1378 was Friday we can safely fix up that date as that of the end of his reign—and of his life.

30. *Fer.*, I, 300.
31. *Bur.*, 36. The name is in *Fer.*, I, 301.
32. Khan Muhammad was Dawud's cousin; *Fer.*, I, 301.
33. Thus in *Tab.* 410. *Bur.* says that Dawud died on the spot, and *Fer.*, is not clear. I am inclined to believe in *Tab.* as Dawud was in the act of prostration and could not have been killed outright when attacked from behind.
34. The geneology and even the name of Muhammad II is wrongly stated by *Fer.*, I, 301. Muhammad was really the grandson not the son of 'Alau'd-din Bahman Shah. This is clear from the following:—

Silver Tanka : Obv.,

الناصر لدين الدين الحامى لاهل الايمان

Rev.,

الوائق بتأييد الرحمن ابوالمظفر محمد شاه السطان

Margin,

ضرب حضرة احسنا باد ٤٨١

Where Muhammad Shah is mentioned over date 781 H.

Brass Fils : Obv., عيد معبود

Rev., محمد محمود

where Muhammad's father, Mahmud, is named; he was the first Bahmani's son.

See Speight, *Coins of the Bahmani Kings*, (Islamic Culture, 1935, pp. 290, 294.)

Ferishtah is also wrong in saying that Mahmud's name is mentioned in Futuhu's-Salatin, of 'Isami, as the book was completed in 750/1350 and the only Bahmani mentioned there is 'Alau'd-din Bahman Shah; 'Isami, *Futuh*, Agra, 1938.

(ii) The evidence of the coins which by itself dis-

proves Ferishtah, is further strengthened by certain inscriptions at Sagar :

- (a) An inscription on the walls of the ' Ashur Khanah which was repaired in 793 H.
- (b) The important inscription on a tablet lying near the tomb of Sufi Sarmast (who died in 680 H.), giving the name of the reigning king as Muhammad-i Mahmud, the same as appears on the brass filis.
- (c) The tomb of Taju'd-din Shaikh Munawar son of Sufi Sarmast, has several inscriptions recording the building of the tomb by the Kotwal Mubarak who is also mentioned in the upper two inscriptions (a) and (b) as being in the time of " Muhammad Shah ". See *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1931-32, pp. 9-12.
- (iii) *Bur.* 36, is clear that the name of the king was Muhammad and that he was the son of Mahmud son of Bahman Shah. This is further corroborated by *Tab.* 410 and *zaf.*, 160.

35. All this happened during the course of one day, i. e. 22.1.780/21.5.1378. The blinding of the boy Sanjar was the first instance of such a deed in the history of the Deccan and this was perhaps a precedent for similar blindings of two of Muhammad's sons whose misfortune was to sit on the dangerous throne. Muhammad reigned according to *Fer.*, for 19 years 9 months and 20 days and according to *Tab.* for 19 years, 9 months and 24 days. Both are definite that the next king Ghiyasu'd-din ascended the throne on 21.7.799 H. or 7.7.799, H. respectively, while *Zaf.* says that Ghiyasu'd-din ascended the throne on 17.7.799, and *Tab.* has it that he reigned for one month and twenty days, which makes his deposition to fall on the 17th of Ramazan 799. The date of Shamsu'd-din accession as given by *Fer.*, *Bur.* and *Tab.* is definitely 17th of Ramazan 799, one of the few definite dates in the whole geneology. We may, therefore, infer the following :
Muhammad II. 22.1.780/21.4.1375-21.7.792/20.4.1397

Ghiyasu'd-din Tahamtan 21.7.799/20.4.1397—

17.9.799/14.6.1397.

Shamsu'd-din Dawud II. 17.9.799/14.6.1397—

24.2.800/16.11.1397.

36. *Epig. Car.* xii. kg. 43, and *Jr. Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, IX, 227, quoted by Gurti Venkata Rao, *Bahmani-Vijayanagar Relations* (Indian History Congress, Allahabad, p. 267).
37. Sewell and Aiyangar, *Historical Inscriptions of South India*, p. 202, quoting *Epig. Carn.* xii. KG 43.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 203, quoting *Epig. Carn.* xii. CK 15. Dr. Aiyangar says that it may refer to an event of 1364 "when the Bahmani forces finally destroyed the kingdom of Warangal." This is, of course, possible, but the kingdom of Warangal was not destroyed by Muhammad I who only fixed Golconda as the frontier. *Kottakunda*, probably the modern Kottapalli, fourteen miles by road north-west of Warangal, 18°5' N. 79°23' E.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 205, quoting *Epig. Carn.* xii. Tp. 44, *E. C.* vii. Hl. 71 *E. C.* Sb. 121, and *E. C.* SK, 241.
40. *Fer.*, I. 301. G. V. Rao, *op. cit.*, says that there was no agreement about payment of tribute, but he does not adduce any evidence in his support.
41. *Fer.*, I. 301.
42. *Fer.*, I. 305.
43. *Fer.*, I. 303. Also see A. M. Siddiqi, *Malik Saifu'd-din Ghori* (Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939, p. 701).
44. Tahamtan is the title on Ghiyasu'd-din's coins. See Speight, *op. cit.* p. 294. Legend :—

Obv., المويد بنصرالله ابوالمظفر

Rev., تهمن شاه بن محمد شاه

The Hyderabad edition of Burhan-i Maasir, p. 38, has Ghiyasu'd-din Bahman; but this is evidently a misreading for Tahamtan. He was 12 according to *Fer.*, I. 304 and 17 according to *Bur.* 38, when he

ascended the throne.

45. *Fer.*, I. 304. This is the first time we hear of the Peshwaship, then only a second rate office.
46. In *Fer.*, I. 304 and *Bur.* 38 Taghalchin is called a manumitted Turkish slave, but in *Zaf.* I. 160 he is called "a *Khilji* amir" who was once a slave of his master. Do we not see here the embryo of the party alignment which later proved to be the bane of the Bahmanis of Bidar?
47. *Fer.*, I. 304. Shamsu'd-din was a son of Muhammad II by a female slave.
48. The title Dawud in *Bur.* 39.
49. Malik Na'ib or Regent—see Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 10. The title *Makhduma-i* Jahan was also used at Delhi for the Queen Dowager; *ibid.* p. 63.
50. Inscriptions at Sagar described in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1931-32, do not mention of Siddhu but indicate that the Kotwal about the time of Muhammad II was one Mubarak.
51. *Fer.*, I. 306. River Bithora is a tributary of the Bhima.
52. *Marqul*, in all probability Martur, about eight miles south of Gulbarga; 17°13' N., 76°54' E. The middle form of 't' can easily be mixed up with the middle form of 'q' and the final 'l' with the final 'r'.
53. *Bur.* 39.
54. *Fer.*, I. 306.

CHAPTER 6

SYNTHESIS OF BAHMANI CULTURE

TAJU'D-DIN FIROZ

16.11.1397-22.9.1422

§ 1 CULTURAL ASPECTS

ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION

Firoz was already past middle age when he ascended the throne on 24.2.800/16.11.1397, and it was no doubt with the fullest sense of responsibility and provision that he set to the increasingly difficult task of trying to maintain a balance between various elements which went to make the Bahmani state. He had successfully ended the regime of Taghalchin the Turk, which had become an eyesore to the old nobility and gentry of the Deccan, but the fall of one man had not solved the problem. There was now a continuous influx of foreigners from Persia and overseas, which was encouraged by the sovereign himself in order to continue the tradition laid down by his father-in-law Muhammad II, namely that of making the Deccan one of the great centres of culture in the East, an ideal which was becoming relatively easy owing to the decay of the rival kingdom of Delhi in the north. Possibly in order to counteract the influence of Iran and Iraq, Firoz took the bold step of making the Hindu element of population shoulder the responsibilities of Government and

it is he who, perhaps for the first time,² gave extensive offices to Brahmans who, were probably the only learned element among the Hindus. The episode of his making Narsingh of Kherla a peer of the Bahmani kingdom after he had laid down his arms, shows that he was following in the footsteps of his ancestor Bahman Shah and trying to make friends with the Hindu aristocracy of the Deccan. He went even further, and was the first of those who took Hindu wives not only from the neighbouring state of Vijayanagar and Kherla but from the plebeian element as well.

There are one or two other points worth mentioning in this connection. As will be seen later, there were incessant quarrels between the Vemas of Kondavidu and the Velamas of Nalgonda, and it is significant that the spirit which was working in the Deccan that made the Velamas actually welcome allies of Firoz against their opponents the Vemas who, in their turn, invited the Raya of Vijayanagar for their help. It will thus be seen that the religious sting which might be supposed to have existed in the Bahmani-Vijayanagar relations, was already dying out as some of the Reddis of the East were helping the Sultan against Vijayanagar, while the Raya of Vijayanagar was actually invading Tilangana in much the same manner as he was marching into the Bahmani territory. His excellent relations with the Hindus may further be surmised from the help that was given by Siddhu in quelling the rebellion on Sagar and the bestowal of the Jagir of Mudhol along with eighty four villages on his son Bhaironsingh on 25.4.800/15.1.1398.³

THE KING'S LEARNING

Firoz was was one of the most learned of Indian sovereigns

and compares favourably with that other erudite king, Muhammad bin Tughluq. Apart from being a good calligraphist, he was well versed in the commentaries on the Quran, jurisprudence, natural sciences and the technicalities of Sufism, as well as in scholastic philosophy, Euclidian geometry, dialectics and mathematics, and took interests in these branches of learning to the extent that he set aside three days every week for taking regular classes in them personally.⁴ It was no doubt due to the education he had received at the hands of his learned father-in-law, Muhammad II, and of his preceptor Mulla Fazlu'l-lah Inju that he made a mark in the world of learning of his day. He was also a poet of some note and adopted 'Uruji and Firozi as his poetic names,⁵ and his lines, which are quoted here and there in Ferishtah and Burhan, show that he had drunk of the fountain of learning. Among other public works that he undertook was the construction of an observatory on the chain of hills near Daulatabad called Balaghat in 810/1408 for which Syed Mahmud Garzuni and Hakim Hasan Gilani were commissioned, but evidently the structure was never completed owing to the premature death of Hakim Hasan Gilani.⁶

His linguistic talents also knew no bounds. If we are to believe in the accounts left to us by Ferishtah, he was well versed not only in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish but also in Telugu, Canarese, Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali and many other languages to the extent that he could carry on conversation in them with those whose mother tongues they were. It is related that he had many wives and other women in his Zenana belonging to various races and peoples, each

with her own nationals as her maid-servants, and the Sultan freely conversed with them in their own tongues. The story is related that he had great sexual propensities, but he was precluded from giving vent to them owing to his strict observance of the Islamic rule of monogamy in general and limited polygamy in exceptional cases. It is possible that he was also swayed by the necessity of contracting *mariages de convenance* in order to keep an equilibrium between the contending elements of the population.⁷ However that may be he was at his wit's ends how to bring into line his conduct with the letter of the law, and he turned to his preceptor, Mir Fazlu'l-lah Inju for advice. There is no doubt that Shi'ah doctrines were slowly finding their way from Iran and 'Iraq into the Deccan, and while the king was a Sunni, it is probable that Fazlu'l-lah himself belonged to the Shi'ah denomination. He told the king that the Shi'ah doctrine allowed mut'ah or temporary marriages and the only way to satisfy his conscience was that while he might remain a Sunni in all other ways of life and prayers, he should adopt the Shi'ah doctrine of Mut'ah. The Sultan was, no doubt, pleased at this suggestion and eased his conscience by contracting such temporary marriages.⁸ The large establishment of his palace was presided over by the Queen of the Deccan, Muhammad II's daughter, and consisted of women not only of many races but of many creeds as well. It is related that the Sultan was considerate enough to read through the Old and New Testaments⁹ perhaps in order to satisfy the Jewish and Christian inmates of the harem.

CULTURAL INFLUENCES

The king was not the only person in the kingdom who was influenced by Hindu culture, but we find in the episode of the courtier Qazi Siraj¹⁰ (whose name indicates that he was one of those learned in Islamic lore or at least that he belonged to a family of the 'Ulama) how much southern Muslims had imbibed the purely Hindu tradition of Art and music. The fact that he could penetrate right into the Vijayanagar camp dressed as a Hindu faqir and could converse in the local language without his identity being discovered is of interest to us. The marriage of the Sultan with Deva Raya's daughter in 810/1408 must have resulted in strong cultural reactions in the Bahmani Kingdom and must have helped Firoz in the synthesis of cultural factors which seems to have been his great aim, and this was symbolised in his freely and courageously riding into the city of Vijayanagar and remaining as an honoured guest in the Raya's palace for three days. Apart from this direct influence of Hindu culture on the Bahmani court, there must have been considerable intermixture of the population belonging to the two religions, for trade and commerce were mostly in the hands of the Hindus, and we find Hindu-traders carrying on overseas trade and providing "horses from Ormuz, elephants from Ceylon, musk and fur from China" to the court of the Bahmani sovereign.

The account of Firoz's harem, described with all the niceties of detail by Ferishtah, and prefaced by Mir Fazlu'llah Inju's admonition shows how much Firoz was influenced by factors which were slowly but surely making their appearance in the Bahmani kingdom. While he was

no doubt keen on a reconciliation with the Hindu population he was no less eager to make the Deccan the home of the best that was found in the lands of Western Asia. Every year he used to send Bahmani ships from Goa¹¹ and Dabul in "all directions" for the purposes of commerce with foreign lands and specifying at the same time that the Bahmani envoys should take it to heart that the present most acceptable to him was a man of erudition. He used to say that it was his duty to collect as many men of learning and piety as possible from all lands, for then the ripest experience of the world would be at his beck and call. It was this object which made the Deccan the rendezvous of such men as Maulana Lutfu'd-din Sabzwari, Hakim Hasan Gilani, Syed Mahmud Garzuni and many others from Iran and the shores of the Caspian. These newcomers were always welcome in his presence and he liked to mingle with them without any reserve, and while he was jealous of the Royal dignity when on the throne in order to make the people feel his power and prestige¹² he used to say that after the darbar he was no better than an ordinary man and there was no reason why the learned should not mix freely with him. In fact he set apart a portion of his evenings for free intercourse with poets, men of accomplishment, story tellers and others of his entourage, when he himself was dressed in the simplest of costumes, and the only etiquette they had to observe was that they should not backbite any one in his presence.¹³

Foreign influence was manifest in many other directions. The king had a definite leaning towards the Syeds of Kerbala, Najaf and Medinah and even had the old silver

throne of Bahman Shah (which had been the Seat of State right up to the time when the Turquoise Throne was received from the Raya of Tilangana by Muhammad I) broken up and the proceeds sent overseas to be distributed among the needy Syeds and other pious men.¹⁴

ARCHITECTURE

As we have mentioned, Firoz counteracted these purely foreign cultural influences by the fillip he gave to associating Hindus in the administration, and we see Hindu influences creeping into the general culture and architecture of the Deccan to a very large extent. It is the intermingling of the Iranian, the Hindu and the Delhi styles which has made Firoz's tomb "the most imposing sepulchre at Gulbarga."¹⁵

While this tomb (or rather the two exactly similar edifices adjacent and joined on to each other) is really single storeyed, it looks from outside as if it were a double storeyed structure, with a series of arches supporting others and with stone tracery ornamenting the upper series. We see here the Perso-Bahmani arch supported by Hindu jambs on either side of the doorways, and the brackets supporting the *chhajja* remind one of the brackets in the Hindu temples of the Deccan. The stucco and profuse cut plaster work, probably of Iranian origin, appear above the arches, in the spandrels and in the interior of the tomb. While the Tughluq tradition of sloping walls has entirely disappeared, the concave fluting in the interior of one of the domes adorned with intricate bands of inscriptions reminds one of similar bands on the exterior of the Qutb Minar at Delhi. It is interesting to note that some of the stone trellises which adorn

the upper series of arches have conical shaped designs covering nearly a third of the frame and these are of the same pattern as in the city of Firozabad, the tombs of the last two Bahmanis at Bidar and certain other places in the Deccan.

Firoz's tomb may be said to be the acme of his engineering skill on a small scale. But this is not the only monument that he left for us to marvel at. For the vast number of his permanent and temporary wives he built a large city on the banks of the Bhima "with very wide and straight roads and fine shops and bazars" and brought the waters of the river right inside the palace.¹⁶ Like another and a much greater monarch, Akbar the founder of Fathpur-Sikri, he made the new city of Firozabad his virtual capital. The architecture of Firozabad stood by itself with "unique structural ideas" which could not be found outside the Deccan. As Mr. Munn says in a letter to the Director of Archaeological Department, Hyderabad-Dn.,¹⁷ "the main feature is the combined use of the dome and pyramid roof which I first noticed on a small scale in the small bazar within the Gulbarga fort which lies beyond the great mosque." In spite of the ravages of time which have elapsed since Firoz presided over the concourse of women at Firozabad, we have enough of what remains to picture the glory that it must have been. The four great gates of the forts, the Diwan-i *Khas*, the Kanchini Mahal flanked by apartments reserved for the royal ladies the Musafir *Khana*, the arched rooms in the zenana, the baths, the so-called kitchen and the mosque, all give some idea of Firoz's originality in engineering. He combined the dome and the pyramid to great advantage. For

instance, the roof of the so-called kitchen is composed of "one large dome flanked by four pyramids and the front is obtained by one large pyramid flanked by two domes. Even the parapets are original in design, so also the small minars which flank the corners. The roof inside is lavishly decorated with pendentives." The entrance of the mosque "is a fine example of the Bahmani school of architecture." The mosque itself is 350 ft. \times 200 ft., and is surrounded by an arched *liwan* the western end of which was once covered by domes graced with fine pendentives. The domes and the pyramids reappear, as Mr. Mann says, in the bazar near the Gulbarga gate, the chhatri at the entrance to the Raichur Fort, at Yadgir and other places.

THE SAINT OF GULBARGA

Before turning to the purely political aspects of the reign mention should be made of the arrival of the saint Hazrat Syed Muhammad Gesu Daraz to Gulbarga, which fact had a great cultural impact on the people of the Deccan with very important consequences. The saint's family was already connected with the Deccan when he arrived at Gulbarga about 805/1401, for his father Syed Yusuf had come to Daulatabad in the time of Muhammad Tughluq and died at *Khuldabad* on 5.10.731/30.6.1332. The saint himself was born at Delhi on 4.7.721/30.7.1321 and was more than ninety when he arrived at Gulbarga from there with a host of disciples in 819/1413, settling down in the beautiful *Khanqah* lying in the immediate vicinity of the great mosque of Gulbarga fort. Firoz was away at the time but when he returned he took care to come with his nobles and high

officials and pay respects to the saint¹⁸ who had already made a mark in learned circles and who exercised a great influence over the minds of the people and soon had a circle of disciples at Gulbarga. He even gave a number of villages to the saint for the support of himself and his entourage.¹⁹ Soon the first impressions which the saint had made on the Sultan's mind disappeared, and learned as he was, the Sultan began to doubt purely literary worth of the saint. The tension increased and the king sent word to the saint that as his abode was in close proximity to the Palace and there was always singing of hymns and din of noisy teaching of his disciples going on there, he should move elsewhere. Thereupon the saint betook himself to the spot where his tomb now stands and which is even now regarded with great esteem and veneration by the people of the Deccan both Hindu and Muslim. This estrangement had very important political results, as will be seen later.²⁰

§ 2. POLITICAL ASPECTS

VIJAYANAGAR

As we have mentioned above, Firoz created his brother Ahmad Khan Khan-i Khanan and his preceptor Mir Fazlu'llah Inju, Malik Na'ib and Wakil or Prime Minister and, perhaps in order to counteract the foreign Iranian influence as also to conciliate the Hindu population, appointed many Brahmans to posts of honour and responsibility.

Practically the whole of his fairly long reign was taken up by his struggle with the neighbouring kingdom of Vijayanagar, a struggle which was started by the Raya of Vijayanagar himself.²¹ It was not long after

his accession early in 1398 that the coming storm had its foreboding in the rebellion of the local zamindars of Sagar in the south-west who seem to have taken advantage of the turmoil in the capital and ousted the Bahmani army from the fort, while Narsingh of Kherla in the North also rose against the Bahmani domination and, with the active help of the rulers of Mandu and Asir and at the instance of the Raya of Vijayanagar, swept over the country as far as Mahur.²² Firoz seems to have turned first to Sagar, and after some hard fighting in which Annadeva Velama, who had been ousted by the Reddis and sought Firoz's help, as well as a local chief Siddhu, fought shoulder to shoulder with the Bahmanis against the rebels, Siddhu being killed in the battle. The rebellion at Sagar seems to have been quelled before 25.4.800/15.1.1398 when Siddhu's son Bhairon Singh was granted the jagir of Mudhol along with eighty four villages in the district of Raibagh.

Firoz postponed the expedition to the North till he had dealt with Vijayanagar. Prince Bukka had, in the meantime, with a large Vijayanagar army, which comprised, among others, 80,000 archers and musketeers, crossed the Tungabhadra border, and in a fan-like movement advanced simultaneously against Mudgal, Raichur and other Bahmani possessions in the Doab as well as against Tilangana, the Velama chiefs of which had been in treaty relationship with the Bahmanis since the time of Muhammad I. Bukka was, on the other hand, helped by Kataya Vema of Rajahmundri, and with Firoz's main army defending the Raichur Doab, it was not difficult for the Vijayanagar army of Tilangana to defeat their opponents. The

diversion at Kherla in the North was also effective and the Sultan was obliged to send the army of Berar and Daulat-abad to the North. The rains had now set in and the river Krishna was in floods, with the result that neither army dared to cross it and there was a kind of stalemate on its banks. As there seemed no way out of the difficulty, one of the Firoz's retinue, an accomplished courtier Qazi Siraj by name, hit upon a ruse and offered to go with a few persons to the Vijayanagar camp in the dead of the night in order to kill the Raja's son there. He requested the Sultan to send four or five thousand picked cavalry immediately across the river if there was a hue and cry from the other side. Qazi Siraj started with seven others disguised as beggars and mad-caps and somehow reached the Vijayanagar camp.²³ They immediately repaired to the quarter of the camp reserved for dancing girls and prostitutes and "made love to one of them."²⁴ As evening arrived they saw that the girl was be-decking herself in gold and jewels and making herself ready to go to the royal camp. Siraj begged her to take him also as he said he had never seen a royal camp in his life. She, however, told him that only musicians could accompany her, at which the pseudo-mendicant showed her that he could play well on the kettledrum which pleased her so much that she not only took Siraj with her to the royal camp but all the other men as well. The performance began with dancing, after which came an interlude consisting of music and a little farce in which Siraj and his men took part. When the whole party was merry-making and the Prince and his retinue thoroughly tipsy, two of Siraj's men went ahead and stabbed the Prince who died there and then.²⁵

There was a tremendous commotion in the Vijayanagar camp and as the night was pitch dark and the lights out Siraj and his men could not be caught. In the meantime Firoz had sent three or four thousand soldiers, some on horseback, others in floating wicker baskets lined with hide across the river. The king himself crossed in the morning and pursued the beaten army right up to the gates of Vijayanagar, while the *Khan-i Khanan* and Mir Fazlu'l-lah Inju were sent to the southern provinces of the kingdom.²⁶

Harihara II soon laid down his arms and entered into pourparlers with the Malik Na'ib who had evidently come back after devastating the southern provinces. A treaty was drawn up by which the Bahmani Sultan released all the prisoners who had been captured and promised to leave Vijayanagar on condition that Harihara should pay ten lacs of huns into the royal treasury,²⁷ while the Malik Na'ib was to receive a present of a lac of huns for concluding the negotiations so successfully. The king now retraced his steps home after appointing Faulad Khan, son of Safder Khan Sistani, Governor of the Raichur Doab.²⁸

It was now the turn of those who had, in a way, stabbed the Bahmanis in the back during the last campaign. Sagar had already been pacified and early in 802/1399 the king marched to that fortress where he received the homage of the local chiefs and Rayas and renamed Sagar *Nusratabad* or the City of Victory. He also received here the annual tribute from Harihara of Vijayanagar to the tune of thirty-three lacs of tankas. It was on his return that Firoz stayed for sometime on the banks of the Bhima, founding there the

city of Firozabad, and it was only when the building operations were complete that he returned to the capital.²⁹

KHERLA

After remaining at Gulbarga for another two or three months Firoz proceeded to Kherla. When he arrived at Mahur, the local muqaddam who had been siding with Narsingh all along, begged the Sultan's pardon and having obtained permission to pay homage, offered tribute. The Sultan stayed at the citadel of Mahur for one month and five days.³⁰ Narsingh was all alone now as the chief of Mahur had gone over to the Bahmanis and the chief of Gondwana had not sent any help when he was approached. He thereupon marched two stages from Kherla to engage the Sultan's army. An ultimatum sent to Narsingh to agree to pay tribute was however refused, and the only alternative left for Firoz was to give battle. The king had moved from Mahur to Ellichpur, and the battle had to be arrayed in his absence with Fazlu'l-lah Inju on the left and *Khan-i Khanan* on his right. The day was fiercely fought, and eminent Bahmani amirs such as Shuja'at Khan, Bahadur Khan, Dilawar Khan and Rustam Khan were killed in the fray. It was rumoured that *Khan-i Khanan* had also been killed, but Inju ordered that the army should not lose heart and that the news should be kept entirely secret for all it was worth; instead of this he had the drums beaten to proclaim that His Majesty had himself arrived from Ellichpur with a large army. Of course *Khan-i Khanan* was not killed and he soon joined hands with Inju, imprisoned Narsingh's son Kaushal Singh and forced the former to shut himself up in the citadel of

Kherla. The siege dragged on for two months at the end of which Narsingh laid down his arms and went in person to the Sultan at Ellichpur begging him to accept tribute as his ancestors on the Gulbarga throne had accepted tribute before him. He also requested that his daughter should be taken into the royal palace as one of the "royal servants," and made a present of forty elephants, five maunds of gold and fifty maunds of silver. The king in return restored Kherla to Narsingh, made him an amir of the kingdom and gave him robes of state including an embroidered cap.³¹

TILANGANA

It was perhaps after the Kherla campaign that Firoz led an expedition into Tilangana where a fierce struggle was going on between the Velmas who were supported by the Sultan and the Vemas who had the Raya of Vijayanagar on their side. As a matter of fact the campaign was undertaken as a refusal for help which Kataya Vema had been giving to Harihara, and now, accompanied by Annadeva and other Velama chiefs the Sultan marched eastwards. One of these chiefs, Gajarao Tippa, met Kataya Vema at Gundukolam and in all probability killed him.³² Firoz's progress into the Andhra country seems to be rather obscure. While we are told by Ferishtah³³ that he took many forts on the way and actually occupied the fort of Rajahmundri, we are informed elsewhere that he could not cross the Godavari as Kataya Vema's lieutenant Doddaya Alla or Alladi Reddi, probably with Deva Raya's help, proved to be too strong for the allies and defeated the Bahmani commander 'Ali Khan,³⁴ forcing Firoz to retrace his steps. Ferishtah,

moreover, says that Tilangana was annexed as the result of the campaign; but we read later that tribute was demanded from Tilangana and actually paid,³⁵ and this could not have happened if the country had been annexed earlier. The truth seems to be that while the king's progress towards Rajahmundri was at first full of success, he suffered a set back there and had to retrace his steps without fully subduing the local chiefs who, however, continued to pay tribute to the royal treasury. It seems that if the Bahmanis took possession of Tilangana at all it must have been at best a precarious possession, and as will be seen, Firoz continued to side with one Andhra faction against the other.

TIMUR

A curious light is thrown on the relations of the Deccan with foreign powers and on international usage of those far off days, by the negotiations of the Bahmani kingdom with the great conqueror Timur the ancestor of the Mughal Emperors of India. When Firoz heard that Timur wanted to invade India and perhaps make one of his sons king of Delhi, he forestalled events and sent Mir Fazlu'l-lah Inju's son-in-law, Amir Naqiyu-d-din Muhammad and Maulana Fazlu'l-lah Sabzwari by sea with a message and presents to Timur. They duly arrived at Timur's capital Samarqand but had to wait there fully six months before they could exhibit anything they had brought. Firoz's message read that if Timur thought of coming to Delhi or of appointing one of his sons as king, he would himself go there and pay his respects to the new potentate. Timur sent a farman to Firoz calling him his own son and allowing him to use all the paraphernalia

of royalty. He also sent him valuable presents and confirmed him in his possession of the kingdom of the Deccan, and also of Gujarat and Malwa, which were beyond the reach either of Timur or of Firoz! The rulers of Malwa and *Khandesh* being afraid of what might happen, sent messages to the Central Asian monarch saying that they were like brothers of the king of the Deccan. They, however, sent a secret message at the same time to the Raya of Vijayanagar saying that they were ready to offer him active help if he needed it, and it was perhaps on this assumption that the Raya did not forward the stipulated tribute to Gulbarga. The Sultan however, did not deem the time ripe for action against Vijayanagar and it was the Raya of Vijayanagar himself who forced a war on Firoz for an entirely unexpected reason.³⁶

VIJAYANAGAR AGAIN

Harihara's son Bukka II was succeeded by his brother the young Deva Raya I towards the end of 1406,³⁷ who soon got entangled with a love affair which was destined to open a new chapter in the social relation between the Hindus and the Muslims. It is related by Ferishtah on the evidence of Mulla Dawud Bidri that it was brought to the notice of the Raya that a certain goldsmith³⁸ of Mudgal, in the Bahmani territory, had a young and extremely pretty daughter Parthal by name, who was an adept in the art of conversation as well as in music and fine arts, and the Raya was greatly interested by what he heard about her. It is said that a certain Brahman pilgrim who was on his way from Benares to Vijayanagar broke his journey at the goldsmith's house,

and when he heard that his host's daughter was so accomplished he wanted to see her but was told that the girl kept purdah from strangers. After much persuasion the father brought her before him and the guest was greatly impressed by the facility with which Parthal played instrumental music before him.³⁹ On his return to Vijayanagar the Brahman related his experience to his Mugal friends and the news was brought to Deva Raya himself. He immediately commissioned the Brahman to go back to Mudgal and bring the girl and the whole family to Vijayanagar by hook or crook, even by making the excuse that it was a matter of great piety to visit the great temples of Vijayanagar ! The Brahman thereupon went to Mudgal and told the parents what a fortune was in store for them when their daughter had a chance of entering the zenana of the Raya. But Parthal herself would have none of it and flatly refused leaving Mudgal telling her parents that whichever girl entered the Raya's palace never came out in her life-time and never saw her parents again.⁴⁰

Deva Raya was very much incensed on hearing all this, and in spite of the representations made by his friends decided to march towards the border with an army thirty thousand strong and ordered five thousand cavalry and a large body of infantry to cross the Tungabhadra, march on Mudgal,⁴¹ get hold of the girl and bring her to his capital, thus breaking the treaty which had so lately been entered into between his father and the Bahmani Sultan. When the goldsmith and the people of Mudgal heard that a Vijayanagar army had crossed the river they preferred to leave their homes for the jungle, and not finding their prey the army

retreated looting and marauding on the way. The governor of the Doab, Faulad Khan, gave them battle and routed them. He then sent word to Firozabad where the Sultan was, informing him what had happened.

It was in 809/1407 that Firoz started southwards with a large army and accompanied by Khan-i Khanan and Inju, after crossing the two rivers marched on to Vijayanagar. In one of the skirmishes he was wounded by an arrow which he himself pulled out of his body. When Firoz saw how well the capital had been guarded and how difficult it was to capture it, he created diversions in two directions, sending Khan-i Khanan to lay waste the South and the sarnaubat Siddhu to besiege Bankapur, himself encamping opposite Deva Raya.⁴²

Deva Raya now sent express messengers to Gujarat, Khan-desh and Malwa for help as these states were supposed to be hostile to the kingdom of the Deccan, but to his great chagrin no help arrived. On the other hand Bankapur fell to Sarnaubat Siddhu, and Khan-i Khanan came back from the south with a large number of prisoners.⁴³ There were great rejoicings in the Sultan's camp, but as Vijayanagar was still intractable Firoz decided to go and besiege Adoni, leaving the Khan-i Khanan, who had proved his merit time and again to take the field against the Raya. When the Sultan was on the point of leaving, he heard that the Raya had sent his envoys to enter into pourparlers with the chief minister Inju, who forthwith presented them to the Sultan himself. The treaty which followed was more or less dictated by the Sultan and was as follows: (1) Deva Raya should give his daughter in marriage to the king; (2) the Raya

should make a present of ten lacs of huns, five maunds of pearls, fifty elephants and two thousand male and female slaves who should be accomplished in the arts of reading, writing, music and dancing; (3) Bankapur, which had already been taken, should be handed over to the Sultan as a dowry for the bride.⁴⁴

After these conditions had been accepted a regular contract of marriage between the Muslim Sultan and the Hindu Princess was entered into, the first of its kind in the Deccan. The king was encamped seven farsakh from Vijayanagar. Old enmities were forgotten and a new and magnificent city sprang up extending between the royal camp and the capital with shops belonging to both Hindus and Muslims on either side of the road. The king's brother *Khan-i Khanan* and the Prime Minister Inju were commissioned to go to Vijayanagar to fetch the bride, and when the bride had arrived the Sultan rode in state to pay a visit to his father-in-law at his capital. The gate of the city through which the royal cavalcade was to pass was about three farsakh from the palace, and the Raya had ordered velvet and cloth of gold to be spread on ten miles of the roadway. Deva Raya received his royal son-in-law at the gate of the city and the two sovereigns rode side by side while gold and silver flowers were strewn as they proceeded forward. When the magnificent company which presented a grand spectacle of Hindu-Muslim amity, arrived at the square in the centre of the city they were received by the Raya's relatives who crowded on both sides and followed them on foot to the palace.

It shows the extraordinary courage on the part of the Sultan and a complete, though only momentary, change of

hearts on behalf of the Raya, that the Sultan stayed at the latter's palace for three days and was loaded with presents on his return to his own camp. When back at his camp he stayed there long enough to send for the goldsmith's daughter from Mudgal and have her married to his son Hasan Khan. The girl's parents were given most valuable presents by the king and returned to their town happy and prosperous.⁴⁶

Unfortunately the peace so well devised by both the parties did not last very long. In 820/1417 the Sultan began to aspire to the hegemony of the whole of the eastern coast of the peninsula and allied himself with his erstwhile opponent, Peda Komati Vema of Kondavidu, who had some claim on Rajahmundry. The allied armies marched with uniform success right up to the walls of the capital of Doddaya Alla which, however, proved too strong, and the Bahmani army appears to have wheeled round to the north without attempting to enter the city. Firoz penetrated the territories of the Ganga king of Orissa, Narasimha IV, defeated him and carried off a large number of elephants. It was probably now that the news was received that the Raya of Vijayanagar had invaded Tilangana from the south and seized the fortress of Pangal. As a matter of fact Vijayanagar had again defaulted in the payment of tribute, and possibly wanted by these means to force the Sultan to abandon his claim by a show of power. So, in 820/1418 the Sultan, now nearing 70 was forced to break with the Raya and lay siege to Pangal. The siege went on for two years during which he successfully prevented any supplies from reaching the garrison. The Velamas were still allied with Firoz and we

see Ramchandra of Dewarkunda attacking a Vijayanagar force on the way to relieve the city, at the pass of Bandi, and putting it to flight.⁴⁶

Now came the turn of the tide. Deva Raya won a decisive diplomatic victory by making the Velamas turn round and side with him, and he now marched with a large army to relieve Pangal. The result was almost a foregone conclusion; the garrison made a sortie as soon as the Raya arrived and in the battle which ensued, *Khan-i Khanan* was wounded and the Bahmani army routed. Firoz incurred a personal loss by the death of his preceptor and the Prime Minister of his kingdom, Mir Fazlu'l-lah Inju, who was murdered by one of his own Hindu servants. Deva Raya pursued the Bahmani forces, destroying a number of mosques on the way, and the king did not stop till he had reached the village of Ellore. The Velama, Anapota, saw his chance and harassed the flank of the retreating army, capturing Medak and plundering the country inhabited by the Boya tribe. Then he proceeded against Kondavidu itself, where Peda Komati Vema suffered defeat and perhaps lost his life.⁴⁷

In desperation Firoz sent Inju's son Mir *Ghiyasu'd-din* to Gujarat for help but he also returned without success, for Ahmad Shah had just then ascended the throne of Gujarat and he made his excuses.⁴⁸ It was with great difficulty that *Khan-i Khanan* drove the invaders back and the Doab was freed from the Vijayanagaris.⁴⁹

HAZRAT GESU DARAZ, KHAN-I KHANAN AND THE SULTAN

The last months of the year 1422 saw the end of both Deva Raya of Vijayanagar⁵⁰ who was succeeded by Bukka

III, and of Firoz who gave place to his brother Shihabu'd-din Ahmad I. Firoz had appointed his son Hasan Khan crown prince in 818/1416 and allowed him to use all the emblems of royalty such as the royal cap and belt, the umbrella, the black Palace curtain, elephant and the throne, even to the extent of entitling him Hasan Shah, and had made all who were of any account pay homage to him in order that there should be no unseemly quarrel on his death-bed⁵¹ A few years before this significant act, Hazrat Syed Muhammad Gesu Daraz had arrived at Gulbarga, and, as has been noted above, a rift was created between the saint and the Sultan, with the result that the former had to leave the vicinity of the Palace to a place a couple of miles away.

Firoz's brother Ahmad Khan Khan-i Khanan perhaps knew the spiritual and moral influence which the saint had come to exercise on the people of the Deccan and was not slow to take full advantage of it. He was often at the saint's Khanqah and, was present at his *seances* apart from his kindness to the Saint's immediate retainers and followers.⁵²

The rift not only between the saint and the king but also between the two brothers, namely the king and the Khan-i Khanan, widened on the formal appointment of Hasan Khan as Crown Prince in 818/1415. After the ceremonies were over and the nobles had paid homage to the new Crown Prince, the king sent him to the saint for prayers. The saint first of all retorted that prayers were futile when all the emblems of royalty had already been bestowed on the Prince, and when he was further pressed by the royal emissaries, he gave out that God had already appointed Ahmad Khan

Khan-i Khanan as Firoz's successor and it was no use whatever that he should offer any prayer for *Hasan Khan*. On hearing this Firoz was greatly annoyed and sent a message to the saint that, as his *Khanqah* was always full of people and was too near the palace, he had better move to a place outside the city because he was disturbing his peace of mind. On hearing this the saint moved to where his mausoleum now stands, about a couple of miles from the fort, and lived there till his end at the age of 105 lunar years on 16.11.825/1.11.1422, a few weeks after Ahmad I's accession.⁵⁴

END OF THE REIGN

Firoz was growing very old and had more or less relegated his powers to the hands of his two manumitted slaves Hashiyar and Bedar whom he created 'Ainu'l-Mulk and Nizamu'l-Mulk after the Mahur campaign.⁵⁵ They continued to remind the old king, now well over 70, that Ahmed was increasing in his popularity with all classes of the people both owing to his inherent ability and also through the saint Syed Muhammad Gesu Daraz's influence. They were also afraid that Ahmad was himself convinced that the saint's prophecy would come true, and he was now actively working towards that end. The two upstarts represented to the king that so long as Ahmad was alive *Hasan Khan's* position was bound to suffer, so they advised the aged monarch to put his brother to death. Firoz was loath to kill a dear brother like Ahmad who had been his help-mate and his right hand man through the storm and stress of his early life and even during his Sultanate but, weak as he was, he was persuaded by 'Ainu'l-Mulk and Nizamu'l-Mulk to blind

him in order that he might not come in Hasan's way. Ahmad's nephew, Sher Khan, however, got an inkling of the matter, and this faithful prince hurried to Ahmad and told him of the danger which awaited him.⁵⁶ Khan-i Khanan knew that he had the saint Gesu Daraz as his sincere friend, so he, along with his eldest son Zafar Khan⁵⁷ hurried to the saint who was very good to him, partook of a feast with them and tearing his own turban tied half of it on Ahmad Khan's and half on Zafar Khan's head congratulating both on the future kingship.

When Ahmad repaired home he found one of his friends Khalaf Hasan,⁵⁸ a dealer in horses from Basrah, waiting for him. Ahmad told him of the danger which beset him and begged him to go home; but Khalaf Hasan would have none of it and insisted on going with Ahmad wherever he went, as he said he would not leave him in adversity as he had been his friend in time of prosperity.⁵⁹ At last with just four hundred companions Ahmad started towards Khanapur where he took a vow that if he ever became a king he would rename the town Rasulabad and endow it for the Syeds of Mecca, Medina and Karbala.⁶⁰

'Ainu'l-Mulk and Nizamu'l-Mulk were very much upset and went to the old king who however, again, protested that he wished to leave his brother alone. But he was powerless to check them. They now gathered thirty elephants and twenty thousand cavalry,⁶¹ and one fine morning Ahmad found himself surrounded by a large army marching towards him. He wanted to fly but Khalaf Hasan said that it would be shameful to leave the field without a struggle. He now had recourse to a ruse. It so happened that some banjaras and others with

a few hundred head of cattle arrived at Kalyani from Berar.⁶² K'halaf Hasan went to Kalyani, purchased them all and in the dead of the night, had their horns camouflaged by fastening cloth over them and ordered them to be ridden by soldiers, while he put the real cavalry in front so that it seemed to the army of Gulbarga that they were all steeds ridden by horsemen.⁶³ Missiles were now thrown at the elephants which formed the vanguard of the royal forces with the result that they turned tail and began to play havoc in their own ranks. Just then Ahmad appeared with a thousand cavalry which he had gathered, and the battle became a rout of the royal army. Ahmad was proclaimed king on the battle-field and now he marched on the capital. His march was a great personal triumph, for he received homage wherever he stepped en route. The victorious army was met by the sick and feeble Firoz three krohs from the capital, but four of seven thousand cavalry which was brought with him, went over to Ahmad's side,⁶⁴ and sick and old as he was, the Sultan swooned on the field without offering battle.⁶⁵

It was on 5.10.825/22.9.1422 that the gates of the city were opened for Ahmad and he was taken direct to the dying king.⁶⁶ It was pignnant scene. The two brothers hugged each other and Firoz was all in tears. Burhan-i Ma'asir relates the whole scene thus :

Ahmad : Your Majesty, I did all this for no other reason but to save my life.

Firoz : God be praised that the Kingdom is going to the rightful man. It was my fault that having a brother like you I tried to hand over the

kingdom to a less worthy person. My last desire is that you should treat your nephew Hasan Khan with kindness as befits a man like you and regard my progeny with the love similar to that which I bear for you.

Firoz now untied the sword from his buckle and girt it on Ahmad and holding him by the hand, seated him on the Turquoise Throne.⁶⁷ Firoz died within a week on 11.10.825/28.9.1422. Various stories are related about his death, but the most probable is that he died a natural death as he was already sick and weak, and the shock of the events of the past few days probably ended his life.⁶⁸ He was buried with great pomp by the new king in the stately mausoleum which he had erected in his own life-time near the monuments of his ancestors.

Firoz was one of the most renowned potentates of the Gulbarga period of the Bahmani Kingdom and his reign saw the synthesis of what was to develop into the Deccan culture in time to come. He is sometimes depicted as an enemy of the Hindus, but judging from the fact that he raised his arms against Vijayanagar only when he knew that they were helping his enemies against him, he does not appear a bigot. He tried to make the southern state a protectorate of the Bahmanis and though he was not successful, he was able to make good his claim on the Doab and Bankapur. He was certainly successful in making Mahur his dependency and marching through Tilangana right upto Rajahmundry. It was perhaps due to his lack of foresight and provision that he picked up a quarrel with the saint Gesu Daraz with dire effects, for he should have gauged

the tremendous influence exercised by him over the nobles and the subjects alike. It was a political mistake he committed when he alienated his sympathies and asked him to quit the *Khanqah* thus giving all the chances of watching over the movements of his disciples and friends. Although old and weary when he was made to take sides against his boon companion in adversity and a good brother like *Khan-i Khanan*, we cannot absolve him entirely from what he did. In the end it must be said that *Firoz* successfully kept the balance between the divergent forces which were having their play in the kingdom by his policy of political and social conciliation such as was not to be experienced for many years to come.

NOTES

1. The name, *Taju'd-din*, in *Firoz's* coins:
Silver Tanka : Obv.

سلطان العهد والزمان الوائق بتأييد الرحمن

Rev. تاج الدنيا والدين فيروز شاه السطان

Rev. Margin : احسناباد ۸۰۳

Speight, *Coins of the Bahmani Kings*, Islamic Culture, 1935, p. 290 ; plate II. *Firoz's* predecessor *Dawud II* reigned for 5 years and 7 months according to *Ferish-tah* and *Burhan*, so we may put *Firoz's* accession on 24.2.800/16.11.1397 which corresponds with *Bur.'s* "Safar, 800" and definitely with *Tabaqat-i Akbar Shahi's* 24.2.800. He was over 70 when he died, and as he reigned for twentyfive lunar years he must have been more than 45 when he ascended the throne. This is according to *Bur.*, 45. *Fer.*, I. 305, however, alleges that *Firoz* was 7 at the time of *Dawud's* murder,

which occurred in 800 H. This would make him a young man of 27 at the time of his accession to the throne. But we have it from *Fer.*, I. 316, that he said in 809 that "as he was getting very old" his son Hasan Khan had better marry Parthal. Now according to *Fer.*, I's calculation he must have been only 36 then and this can hardly be called "old age." I have found that here as well as many other places Burhan is more reliable than Ferishtah.

2. It is suggested that the first Bahmani had a number of Brahmans in his service headed by Gangu, but we are not aware of any evidence to prove this, and as has been mentioned elsewhere Gangu's very name is a myth. See Sherwani, *Gangu Bahmani*, journal of Indian History, December 1940.
3. For the Reddis and their wars in Firoz's time see Venkataramanayya, *Velugotivarivamsavali*, intr., p.17-36. For Bhairon Singh and his father see D. V. Apte, *Mudhal Samsthanchya Ghorpade Gharanchya Itihas*, Poona, 1934, Supplement, Document 2, where the impression of his left hand is given.
4. *Fer.* I. 308. The Sultan's calligraphy, *Taz.*, fol. 9.
5. *Fer.* I. 309. Some of the lines quoted are :-

بدان مشابہ زغم دھر بردلم تنگ است
 کہ دل بلذت سودائے عشق درجنگ است
 گل امید شگفت از نسیم وعده ولے
 ز آفتاب غم انتظار ہے رنگ است
 بقطع راہ محبت بخور فریب امید
 کہ غایت ابدش ابتدائے فرسنگ است
 دماغ طبع عروجی چه دلکشا چمنیست
 چمن مگوئے کہ آن آسمان فرہنگ است

کرشمه جنبش آموز است مژگان درازش را
 ستم کرد است واجب هر زمان تعلیم نازش را
 فروزی قامت و رخسار آن خورشید تابان را
 سرور و لاله می سنجید که ینش امتیازش را

6. *Fer.*, I. 310.
Daulatabad Balaghat, part of the range of hills running from near Vaijapur in the extreme west of the Aurangabad district through *Khuldabad* and *Daulatabad*.
7. *Fer.*, I. 309. It would perhaps be an exaggeration to say that it was mainly for creating social ties that he "married Hindu women from North and South, particularly from Maharashtra, Tilangana and Karnataka." See A. Siddiqi, *Firoz Shah Bahmani*, Proc. I. H. C., Allahabad, 290.
8. *Fer.*, I. 306. *Ferishtah* is, as usual, full of exaggeration here. There is a remarkable passage in *Taz.* fol. 9 (b) where it is distinctly mentioned that *Firoz* had only one wife.
9. *Fer.*, I. 307.
10. *Fer.*, I. 309; see below for details of this episode. For overseas trade see K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, (quoting *Haravilasam* of Srinath), p. 11.
11. Goa must have been a Bahmani possession in *Firoz's* time, or possibly a "treaty port" of Vijayanagar, as Mahmud Gawan had to conquer it on behalf of Muhammad III in 1472. See Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan, the Great Bahmani Wazir*, p. 137-139, and below, ch. 11.
12. *Firoz* was the first Bahmani who designed and wore a bejewelled crown in the form of a turban; see Nizamu'd-din Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbar Shahi*, p. 30.
13. *Fer.*, I. 806. His dress, *Taz.*, 9 (b).
14. *Fer.*, I. 288.

15. *Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department*, 1925-26, p. 4. Firoz's tomb is certainly very imposing but neither so imposing nor so grand as another tomb built by his successor Ahmad I, i. e., that of the saint Hazrat Gesu Daraz, about half a mile away. It is related by 'Abdu'l-Jabbar, *Mahbubu'l-Watan*, p. 476 quoting *Mufarrihu'l-Qulub* that the tomb adjacent to that of Firoz is that of Shah Kamal Pir.
16. *Fer.*, I. 308.
Firozabad, in the Gulbarga district, situated on the confluence of the Bhima and its small tributary, the Bithora, 17°8' N., 76°56' E.
17. Letter of Mr. Munn to the Superintendent of Hyderabad Archaeology, *Report* 1914-15, p. 44. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Munn's recommendation that Firozabad should be photographed and surveyed have not been carried out. As a matter of fact since Mr. Munn's letter most of the buildings in Firozabad fort have fallen in and stones carried away by the population.
Tadgiri, headquarters of a taluqa in the Gulbarga district; 16°46' N., 77°9' E.
18. *Fer.*, I. 316. The *Khanqah* has been described in *Rep. Hyd. Arch. Dept.* 1347-49 F., p. 2.
19. *Bur.*, 44.
20. One or two small Urdu brochures on the life of this really great man have been published, but they are full of supernatural anecdotes and other matters which have yet to be established. What is wanted is an authentic and critical life of Hazrat Gesu Daraz as it is bound to throw a considerable light on the social life of the people as well as on the politics of the country. Latterly attention has been drawn to his numerous works some of which have been published. See Hamid Siddiqi, *Hazrat Gesu Daraz*, Hyderabad; Zahiru'd-din, *Sultan Ahmad Shah Bahmani*, 1937, Ch. 2. The life of the saint was originally compiled by one of his disciples, Muhammad 'Ali Samani, but this is still in manuscript and is preserved in the Mausoleum

Library at Gulbarga; its precis and excerpts are included in the printed edition of the saint's book, *Khatimah*, 'Ata Husain ed., Hyderabad, 1941. The saint was born at Delhi on 4.7.720/30.7.1321 and first came to the Deccan in 725/1324 with his father Syed Yusuf who died on 5.10.732/30.6.1332 and was buried at Khuldabad. Evidently he went back to Delhi and did not return till 805/4301. See Ghulam 'Ali Azad, *Rauzatul-Auliya*, p. 33, for a sketch of the saint's life.

21. For the Raya's name see Sewell and Aiyangar, *Inscriptions of South India*, p.400; Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p.152; B. S. Rao, *History of Vijayanagar*, p.20. The question is whether this advance was made by Harihara II or on his behalf by Prince Bukka. Also see Gurti Venkata Rao, *Bahmani-Vijayanagar Relations*, Indian History Congress, Allahabad, pp. 264 ff. Sewell and Aiyangar say that it was the winter season when the advance was made, but as this was followed by rains it seems that the hostilities commenced in summer not in winter. Rayas contemporary with Firoz: Harihara II, 1377-1404; Bukka II, 1404-1406; Deva Raya, 1406-1422.
22. *Fer.*, I., 309. There seems to be a misstatement on the part of Ferishtah as regards the first ruler of Mandu. Dilawar Khan Ghori did not declare his independence till 804/1402. The ruler of Asir or Khandesh in 801/1399 was Nasir Khan Faruqi. *Kherla*, now a village about four miles north of Betul in the Central Provinces; 21°46' N., 78°0 E. Annadeva Velama; *Velug.*, 25, where Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society 1, 284 is referred to. Treaty relations of the Velamas with Muhammad I, *Velug*, Intr. 21. Captive of Pangal, *Velug.*, Intr; 21. *Rajahmanary*, headquarters of a sub-division of the West Godavari district; Madras State 17°1' N., 81°46' E.

The date of the recapture of Sagar is my surmise and

I have deduced it from the grant of Mudhol to Bhairon Singh. *Bur.* gives 802/1399. Dr. Venkata-ramnayya *Rajahmandry plates*, wrongly names Shamsu'd-din's father Mahmud Shah, while the date of Firoz's accession, 14.2.1397 is also incorrect; see note 1, above.

23. The word used by Ferishtah is *Urdu* which is akin to Turkish "Urdu" or camp and this may possibly have been derived from the Latin "Ordo" meaning regular row or line.
24. *Fer.*, I. 310.
25. Prince Bukka's young son; see Sewell and Aiyangar, 206; *Fer.*, I. 310.
26. *Fer.*, I. 310. *S & A.* 206.
27. Ten lacs of huns = nearly 33 lacs of tankas, which seems to have been fixed as the annual tribute from Vijayanagar for the future. It was the non-payment of this sum at regular intervals which led to so many wars in future.
28. *Fer.*, I., 311.
29. *Bur.*, 43.
30. *Fer.*, I., 310. *Bur.*, 43.
31. *Fer.*, I., 311, 312.
Ellichpur once the capital of Berar, now the headquarters of a subdivision of the Amaroti district, Madhya Pradesh State 21°16' N., 77°33' E.
32. *Bur.*, 44. Velama-Vema controversy and the sides, *Velug.* Intr. 24. *Gundukolam*, in the Ellor Taluqa, W. Godavari district, Madras State.
33. *Fer.*, I. 311, says that the Sultan captured many forts on the way and actually occupied the fort; but this seems to be one of the exaggerations on his part.
34. Sewell and Aiyangar quoting Vemagram C.P. grant; *Velug.* 25, relying on the poet Srinatha's *Bhimes-varapuranam*, I. 62.
35. *Fer.*, I. 316. As a matter of fact Tilangana had to be reconquered in the next reign. *S & A.*, 213, say that Kondavidu was in the hands of the Gajapatis about 1420, but it is clear that Kondavidu did not fall

under the hegemony of Orissa till the rise of Kapileshwar about 1434. See Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I. 290. *Kondavidu*, subsequently named Murtazanagar, a hill fort in the Guntur district, Madras State 16°60' N., 80°60' E.

36. *Fer.*, I. 312. Timur set out for India in April, 1398, crossed the Indus on 24.9.1398 and occupied Delhi on the 17th of December of the same year.
37. *S. & A.*, 208.
38. Not a farmer, as in *S. & A.*, 209.
39. The music she played was on the stringed Jantar and Surmandal or harp.
40. All this in *Fer.*, I. 314.
41. *Tab.*, 411. The name of the girl is not, however, mentioned there.
42. *Fer.*, I. 315, *Bur.*, 44 says that certain provinces such as Bhanur and Musalkal were occupied by the royal army. See Venkataramnayya, *Ind. Ant.*, 1941, p. 35.
43. 60,000 according to Ferishtah but this can only be an exaggeration.
44. *Bur.*, 43 says that the sum paid was 33 lacs of tankas which were in arrears. This amount is nearly equal to 10 lacs of huns. There is no mention of Parthal in *Bur.* at all.
Farsakh = 18,000 ft., Steingass; *Persian English Dictionary*; 7 farsakh = about 25 miles.
45. *Fer.*, I. 316, where full details of the story are related.
46. *Fer.*, I. 316; *Bur.*, 47. Not Nalgonda proper as in Zahiru'd'din, p. 35. The whole episode is obscure especially the question of sequence and interconnection of Rajahmundry campaign with the war with Orissa and the seige of Pangal. I have to a large extent followed the sequence suggested by Dr. Venkataramnayya in *Epig. Ind.* 1941, pp. 34-37, at the same time, following *Bur.* as far as the Orissa campaign is concerned.
Defeat at Rajahmundry, *Velug*, Intr. 27. Orissa campaign is also found in Banerji, *History of Orissa* I, 287.

- Doddaya Alla still ruling at Rajahmundry in 1434, *S. & A.* p. 218.
- Pangal*, two miles from Nalgonda, 17°5'N., 78°55'E.
- Dewarkunda*, headquarters of a Taluqa in Nalgonda district, Hyderabad State; 16°42'N., 78°55'E.
47. *Velug.*, 28; *Bur.*, 46; *Fer.*, I. 317.
- Medak*, headquarters of a district of that name, H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, 18°3'N., 78°26'E.
48. See 'Abdu'l-lah el-Makki, *Zafaru'l-Walih*, Ed. Ross, p. 162, who says that help was promised by Gujarat.
49. *Fer.*, I. 317.
50. "Sometime before August 3", *S. & A.*, 213, relying on *E. C.*, IV. Gu, 24 etc.
51. *Bur.*, 30. The word used is in Bai'at or "contractual homage;" see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I. p. 588, for its significance.
52. *Fer.*, I. 316.
53. *Ibid.* Hazrat Gesu Daraz's tomb, *Hyd. Arch. Rep.* 1918-20. pl. 4.
54. *Bur.*, 43.
55. *Bur.*, 47, 48. *Zaf.*, I, 162 says that it was Firoz himself who called the chief man of the kingdom and said that his son Hasan should ascend the throne and that Ahmed should be imprisoned.
56. Later Sultan 'Alau'd-din Ahmad II. See *Bur.*, 48, who definitely says that Zafar Khan was his eldest son. Also *Fer.*, I. 318.
57. One of the most renowned nameless persons in history. *Khalaf Hasan* simply means 'son of Hasan.' We know his brother's name was *Khumais*, but his name is not known at all. *Zaf.*, 163 calls him.
- خلف العرب الاحسائي
58. *Bur.*, 48.
59. *Fer.*, I., 318. *Bur.*, 49, says that the village of Milad was renamed *Khanapur*. *Khanapur* is about 8 miles west of Bidar; 17°56'N., 18°23'E.
60. *Fer.*, I, 318, has three to four thousand cavalry.
61. *Fer.*, I, 318, says that 200 cattle with corn and 300

merchants had reached Kalyani. Zahiru'd-din, p. 38, says that there 2,000 oxen, but does not give any reference for his statement.

62. *Bur.*, 50.

63. *Fer.*, I, 38. *Bur.*, 51, says that Hoshiyar and Bedar wer killed on the battlefield, but *Fer.*, I, 319, finds them back at Gulbarga.

64. *Bur.*, 51.

65. *Fer.*, I, 319, says that the king was so ill that he was in bed and had to call his brother there, but *Bur.* says that he was acutally on the throne when Firoz arrived. Personally I think that Ferishtah is right, as Firoz had swooned outside Gulbarga, and it is more likely he had to be in bed after the battle.

66. Thus in *Bur.*, 52.

67. Zahiru'd-din recounts all the stories current about Firoz's death on pp. 66-70. *Fer.*, I, 319, relates the story that he was murdered at Sher Khan's instance. Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi, however, says that he was killed by his own personal servant, an Abyssinian, while he was reading the Qur'an.

Firoz reigned for 25 years 7 months and 11 days, and counting from 24.2.800 H. when he ascended the throne we come to 5.10.825/22.9.1422, the date of his successor's accession according to Ferishtah, Burhan and Tabaqat.

CHAPTER 7

NEW ENVIRONMENTS

SHIHABU'D-DIN AHMAD I

22.9.1422—17.4.1436

§ 1. CULTURAL ASPECTS

However "saintly" the new king was and however innocent of the death of his brother Firoz he might have been, he must have heaved a sigh of relief when he heard that his brother was no more. At the very outset of his reign he had to undergo the shock of the death of his benefactor Hazrat *Khwaja* Syed Muhammad Gesu Daraz which occurred within a month of his accession.³ Hazrat had been Ahmad's supporter ever since he came to settle down at Gulbarga, and it is no exaggeration to say that but for the support of the group which gathered round the saint, who had become a kind of leader of opposition to Firoz, Ahmad would not have ousted his brother and his nephew from the throne so easily. It is possible that the saint's death was one of the causes of the change of the capital from Gulbarga to Bidar, though other causes must have contributed to bring about the decision as well. Before leaving Gulbarga, however, he ordered that a monument be raised above the mortal remains of the saint, and so it was that the present magnificent tomb,

the glory of Gulbarga, was erected.

CHANGE OF CAPITAL

The change of capital was really a symbol of the revolution which was taking place in the Bahmani state both in its inward and outward aspects. The Kingdom founded by 'Alau'd-d-din Bahman Shah and organised by Muhammad I, had suffered internally by the uncertainties of the royal office, and every one of the occupants of the throne from Mujahid onwards, with the single exception of Muhammad II, had met a violent death. The Bahmanis had been on the throne for barely seventy-five years, and the shrewd Ahmad must have perceived that his throne was not safe in an atmosphere which engendered blood-thirsty traditions. The history of the last three-quarters of a century was a negation of all rules of orderly succession to the throne, and this state of affairs must have produced an atmosphere of intrigue entailing faithlessness and disloyalty to the ruler at Gulbarga whoever he might be. Moreover Ahmad must have been fully conscious of the steps by which he could become king and thrust aside his nephew. The saint Gesu Daraz's death so soon after his accession may have weighed heavily on him, and he must have begun thinking hard how to extricate himself from the shackles of intriguing Gulbarga where there was no doubt a large party of nobles and commoners who considered Ahmad to be merely a usurper.

If we compare the Gulbarga period of Bahmani rule with the Bidar period we can immediately perceive a vast change in the spirit of the Sultanate. The period of the Bidar Sultanate was one of internal peace. Intrigues there

no doubt were, and as will be seen later, it was the mutual antipathy of the Afaqi and the Dakhni which finally led to the very downfall of the kingdom. But it is remarkable that after the blood-thirsty atmosphere which Ahmad left at Gulbarga, and in spite of the Dakhni-Afaqi conflict leading to the rise of the succession states and the consequent decline of the kingship, we find that there is not a single case of regicide from the accession of Shihabu'd-din Ahmad in 1422 to the first quarter of the sixteenth century when all power had been lost. In fact it was during this period that the right of primogeniture became firmly established in the Deccan as it never was in Northern India right through the mediaeval period. It would not be too much to say that a large amount of credit for this state of affairs is due to the man who moved his capital to a new district.

There was another tradition which was finally shaken off by the removal of the capital, and that was the Tughluq tradition. It has been noticed elsewhere that Firoz was the first Bahmani who, while encouraging the influx of Iranians, 'Iraqis and Arabs from over the seas, attempted to offset their influences by an admixture of Hindu tradition in the life of the Deccan. As time went on the purely Tughluq influence must have waned, and the contrast between Mujahid's tomb and Firoz's "double tomb," both on the same platform, is an abundant proof of this movement. It has already been related how Hindu influence was creeping even into sacred Muslim edifices such as the prayer niche in Ghiyasu'd-din Tahamtan's tomb and Firoz's mausoleum. The Bidar period also opens a new chapter in the Deccan architecture, for while the Tughluq influence almost

entirely disappears, its place is taken by the influence of the Iranians and Transoxanians who flock to the Deccan more than ever, making their mark in art, architecture, politics, religion and other aspects of the life of the land, to the great chagrin of the northern colonists who were now calling themselves Dakhnis. The Iranian influence in architecture is manifest to such an extent that the peculiar Perso-Deccani or Bahmani arch with its stilted apex was copied by their foes of Vijayanagar, and even now the visitor to the great ruins of Hampi stands astounded at the faithful manner in which that arch found a place in the Talarigatta Road, zenana compound, watch-tower in Danaik's enclosure, the so-called elephants stables and other monuments in the great ruins side by side with purely Hindu temples, shrines, platforms and bas-reliefs.⁴

One other consideration must have weighed on Ahmad's mind and that is the sultry atmosphere of Gulbarga compared with the fertility and salubrity of Bidar. The word Gulbarga or Kalbarga means "stony land" in Kannada language and this part of the Deccan is noted for its very scanty rainfall. On the other hand Bidar is situated on a plateau 2,330 feet above the sea level and is definitely one of the healthiest parts of the Deccan tableland. It is no doubt this which has led our chroniclers to hand down to posterity stories of a Bidar rabbit or a fox chasing a dog from some other clime, and an old man of Bidar being stronger than young men of other parts of the Deccan.⁵

Lastly, recent years had seen the progress of Bahmani arms into Tilangana in the reign of Firoz, and although he had to leave Rajahmundry he managed to get a greater hold

on the eastern parts of the Deccan than his predecessors ever had.⁶ In shifting the capital to Bidar Ahmad must have had more or less the same considerations as those of Muhammad b. Tughluq when he made Daulatabad the second capital of his vast empire, for Gulbarga was an unsuitable position for the capital of the Bahmani kingdom which had been greatly enlarged during the last seventy-five years. Bidar was much safer, being at the very edge of the Deccan plateau, and besides, was more in the centre of the new dominions than the far flung Gulbarga.

These were probably the considerations which led Ahmad Shah to think of moving his court to Bidar. There are a number of dates assigned to this important event, ranging between the 827/1424 to 830/1426.⁷ The earlier date appears to be correct and there seems to be no reason why the king should have waited till the dramatic chase of the dog by the fox to have made up his mind about the climatic excellence of Bidar as Ferishtah seems to have surmised. Bidar had been in possession of the Muslims right from the conquest of the Deccan, and was in fact the capital of the southern provinces before Daulatabad was made the political centre of India by Muhammad b. Tughluq. Surely a shrewd man like Ahmad Shah, who must have passed through Bidar a number of times, was bound to know what a pleasant and fertile place it was and must also have known that it had once been the capital town of the Deccan. Both *Burhan-i Ma'asir* and *Tazkiratu'l-Muluk* are agreed that Bidar was made the capital immediately after the king's accession. Moreover we have an additional evidence of this in an inscription which has been discovered in the chief mosque of

the Bidar fort, the "Solah Khamb Masjid," which says that it was built as early as 827/1424, i. e., within two years of Ahmad's accession, by Prince Muhammad after whom Bidar began to be called Muhammadabad.⁸ And surely the mosque could not have been the solitary royal edifice at Bidar in 827 H. We may, therefore, well surmise that Ahmad began to think of the change in the capital immediately after his accession and actually commissioned Prince Muhammad to supervise the erection of a fort on the edge of the plateau by the side of the ancient Hindu fortress, and when the structures needed for the reception of his entourage, including the mosque, were completed in 827 H., he shifted his capital. As a matter of fact we are fortunate in possessing the actual date of the change of capital, for Burhan-i Ma'asir definitely says that the king moved on to Bidar in the month of Rajab in the second year of his accession i.e., Rajab 827/June 1424. Burhan does not stop here but actually names Bidar as the place where the great celebrations of the marriage of the Crown Prince Zafar Khan with Princess Agha Zainab daughter of Nasir Khan Faruqi of Khandesh took place, celebrations which were marked by much "music, incense and wine." We are told that the "capital Bidar" was then full of the most varied articles of high living and fine arts which were patronised by both the court and the people, while shops and trade establishments were full to the brim with articles of comfort and luxury.⁹

ARCHITECTURE

One of the monuments of note at Gulbarga the building of which was definitely commenced by Ahmad I is the

mausoleum Hazrat Gesu Daraz. The Mausoleum with its adjacent tomb of the saint's son Syed Akbar Husaini, is a perfect specimen of the Perso-Deccani or Bahmani architecture and is built on the principles already adopted in Firoz's tomb. Although at first glance it seems to be a double storied monument with four small bouquets on each corner and surmounted by a grand dome with brass finials, it is, along with the sister mausoleum of the saint's son, one of the glories of Gulbarga. The arches, jambs and the spandrilis remind one of Firoz's tomb, but there is a simplicity and awe which inspires the onlooker to a greater extent especially as work has been conceived on a much larger scale and the arches on both "storeys" are simple and closed in contrast to the trellises and triangulations to be seen in Firoz's tomb. The interior of the mausoleums of both father and son are grand and sombre, while the walls are absolutely perpendicular to the ground and the roof is of the vaulted pattern with ten shallow domes. The saint's monument was commenced by Ahmad Shah I two years after his death and completed by his son 'Alau'd-din Ahmad II.¹⁰

There is another building at Gulbarga which can also be attributed to the reign of Ahmad I i. e., the mosque built by Qalandar Khan, the first Bahmani Governor of Gulbarga. It is a simple structure with a double row of five arches and the ceiling superimposed by five flat domes. The style of the arches is more or less the same as that of Firoz's tomb, but the pillars on which they rest are proportionately longer and the whole ensemble is much simpler. There is an interesting square room near Qadandar Khan's mosque which reminds one of the Firozabad style of architecture in

that the room is surmounted not by a dome but by a pyramidal form flat at the bottom with a tapering top. This was probably the last edifice at Gulbarga where the style which had perhaps been invented by Firoz was copied.¹¹

We now move on to Bidar, the new capital of the Bahmanis, and enter the chef d'oeuvre of Ahmad I, built on the site of an ancient fortress connected with the romance of Nala and Damayanti and near the purana Qil'a, gunfoundry and the reservoirs which supplied water to the palaces.

The fort itself,¹² or rather a large part of it, is a living monument to the genius of Ahmad Shah, and although there must have been many additions by future sovereigns, the greater part of the edifices may safely be attributed to him. This huge quadrangle, three-quarters of a mile long by half a mile broad with a circumventing wall of 4500 yards, is built on the edge of the Bidar plateau which rises precipitately on the eastern side to a height of 2,330 ft. above sea level. The moat is hewn out of solid rock but the builders have left a number of partitions, so that instead of one moat there are really three in certain places, and these are defended by portions jutting up from the bottom. The massive bastions named Kala Burj, Lal Burj, Kalyani Burj, Bari Topka Burj are all of vast dimensions.¹³

We enter the fort from the east through the so-called Sharzah Darwaza built by Aurangzeb and then proceed to the Naubat Darwaza with its decorations of coloured tiles. There we see a magnificent inscription in suls inscribed in the hand of Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani in 909/1504 surmounted by a Naubat Khana. The Third gateway, the Gumbad Darwaza or the "Dome Gate" is the first significant

Bahmani structure we meet, for here free use is made both of the stilted arch and flat dome reminiscent of the earlier Tughluq tradition, with an apex about 70 ft. above the ground level. It is a simple structure and its most prominent factor is the stilt in the outer arch. We now pass by certain structures dating from Baridi times and come to the Solah Khamb Masjid built in 827/1424 under the direction of Prince Muhammad and under the supervision of Qubli Sultani.¹⁴ It is called the Solah Khamb masjid as the ceiling is supported by sixteen massive pillars each more than 14 ft. in diameter. There are two interesting things connected with this Mosque; firstly, there is a reservoir placed on the roof for the supply of water to the mosque and possibly to the palaces; secondly, the scheme of this mosque is more or less the same as that of the great Jami' Masjid at Gulbarga, though of course on a much smaller scale, and practically every worshipper is able to see the Imam in spite of there being so many pillars, with the advantage of a free flow of air in spite of the large covered area.¹⁵ The difference between the two mosques is that an open platform has been added here no doubt owing to the smallness of the covered area. Quite close by is the structure which was formerly regarded as the courtyard of the Queen but which proved to be one of the Audience Halls when the whole site was excavated in 1929. There are furthermore two large platforms divided from each other by a wide roadway leading to Takht Mahal and the adjoining chambers. The platform of one of these halls is 109 ft. long by 52 ft. broad while the platform opposite measures 207 ft. by 50 ft., the former probably being the site of the *Aiwan-i Bari-i Khas* or

the Hall of Private Audience and the other of *Aiwan-i Bar-i 'Am* or the Hall of Public Audience. The smaller platform has a triple row of pedestals on which the pillars supporting the roof once rested, while on the eastern and western sides of the great hall are remains of smaller halls which perhaps served as resting rooms of the Sultan. There are also traces of small rooms off the main hall which are perhaps his robing rooms.

We now come to the *Takht Mahal* and the adjoining palaces, which form a magnificent ensemble. It is related that when the 'Adil Shahi Governor of Bidar knew that the palace-fortress was soon to be occupied by Aurangzeb, he blew up the palaces rather than hand them over to the Mughal conqueror, with the result that most of what must have been magnificent Bahmani structures are now but a mass of ruins. Of some structures only the platforms remain and they have recently been unearthed; of others walls have been spared like those of the *Takht Mahal* and others still, such as the baths and the "Hazar Kotthri" or "A Thousand Cubicles" still stand as perpetual monuments of the magnificence that was the capital of the Bahmanis.¹⁷ Near the *Takht Mahal* the clearing of the debris has brought to light great halls of considerable dimensions, some as large as 70 ft. by 35 ft., and subterranean chambers, octagonal rooms with flight of steps still fairly decorated with glazed tiles of myriad colours. The grandest building of the lot is the *Takht Mahal* or the Throne Hall itself which was probably the scene of the coronation of so many Bahmani potentates, scenes which have been described in detail by our chroniclers. Mr. G. Yazdani (sometime Director of Archaeology, H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions) says about this Throne Room: "The

arches rise so as to convey an air of loftiness, and the beautiful tile decorations of the facade, relieved by bands of carved black stone give an idea of sumptuousness combined with good taste only to be found in architectures of the highest order. The plan of the interior of the room is extremely picturesque, the square form the exterior of the building being converted into an ornamental octagon by the building of niches of elegant design at corners. Excluding the niches the room measures 24 ft. across. The view of the fort and the country around is superb, and the architect could not have selected a better site for the building of the throne room."¹⁸ The arches are all very stilted and this would be sufficient to prove Iranian influence. This Afaqi influence on administration will be dealt with in detail when we come to its political aspect; but nothing can show this influence on Deccan art than two bold outlines of the Persian emblem on each of the eastern and northern facades, the Lion with the Rising Sun in the background, flanking the arch on both sides, all worked in mosaic of beautifully coloured tiles, which attract the attention of the visitor as he approaches Ahmad's palace. Even in the manifestly Persian ensemble, we perceive Hindu influence in some of the carvings of the marginal borders of black stone as well as the Hindu Jambs which support the arch in the numerous doors of the palace and which clearly indicate the synthesis of cultures which was proceeded in the Deccan. It was perhaps the grandness of this composite structure which struck Shaikh Azari of Isfarian in Iran, the preceptor of the Crown Prince, who composed the following lines in honour of the occasion :

جندا قصر مشید که زقرط عظمت
 آسمان سده از پای این درگاه است
 آسمان هم نتوان گفت که حد ادب است
 قصر سلطان جهان احمد بهمن شاه است

So much for the fort. There is one other monument of Ahmad I which set the fashion at Bidar for seventy five years and that was the sepulchre of Ahmad Shah himself, which is the first of a line of tombs situated in the village of Ashtur a couple of miles from the city of the Bidar. Although it was barely twelve years since the death of Firoz, the style of Ahmad Shah's tomb is in marked contrast to that of Firoz. Here we find three and not two storeys as they appear from the exterior, while the entrance arches on the four sides are much loftier and grander than the comparatively small arches of Firoz's tomb. The sense of strength of Ahmad's tomb is enhanced by the fact that the corner bouquets are considerably smaller, while the old Tughluq dome has given place to a grand oval dome resting on a huge drum with a finial at the top. But more than the exterior, it is the interior decorations which show a marked contrast to the Gulbarga edifice. Here we see the Sufic or perhaps Shi'ah influence par excellence. The interior was decorated under the supervision of the calligraphist Mughis of Shiraz, perhaps himself of Shi'ah persuasion, who has inscribed the name of the Apostle of Islam and the fourth Caliph 'Ali in a hundred ways and inserted the Shi'ite *darud*. As one enters the sepulchre one is overawed by its grandeur and sombreness and the impression one gets is one of

immensity something like the impression of an Istanbul mosque on a small scale. One finds specimens of all styles of Arabic writing, Kufi, Tughra, Naskh and the rest and, perhaps in view of the comparative darkness of the interior, the inscriptions are painted in bright colours, gold, vermillion and green, or even a brighter background, studded here and there with resplendent stones, some of which are said to be real diamonds of inestimable value. The interior of Ahmad Shah's tomb must be ranked as one of the masterpieces of the calligraphic art of Mediaeval India.²⁰

OLD-COMERS AND NEW-COMERS

All this shows the extent to which art and architecture and the general life of the people has been influenced by these New-comers²² who came from over-seas and made the Deccan their home. The influx had been going on for some years previously, but it was for the first time that, on his accession, Ahmad appointed one of them, his old friend *Khalaf Hasan Basri* (who had, in a way, saved his life and put him on the throne) his *Wakil-i Saltanat* or Prime Minister, creating him *Maliku't-Tujjar* or Prince of Merchants, a title which became one of the highest in the Deccan in times to come.²³ It was no doubt the great heights attained by this statesman-merchant which roused the envy of all his opponents and was the beginning of the great cleavage between the so called *Dakhnis* and the *Afaqis* which finally sounded the death-knell of the Bahmani kingdom itself. Ahmad tested the loyalty of his "Afaqi" courtier time and again, especially when he was surrounded by the enemy during the Vijayanagar campaign early in his reign and had a hair-breadth escape mainly owing to the great resource and

courage of such New-comers as Syed Husain Badakhshi, Mir 'Ali Sistani, 'Abdu'l-lah Kurd and others. He thereupon ordered a special corps of three thousand archers from 'Iraq, *Khurasan*, Transoxania, Turkey and Arabia to be enrolled in the royal army, and appointed a New-comer *Khawaja* Hasan Ardistani to teach bowmanship to the Princes. After the successful Konkan campaign led by the Maliku't-Tujjar in 833/1430 the king conferred upon him a suit of his own royal robes and other gifts "the like of which had never been presented by a king to any of his subjects."²⁴

The antipathy to which this phenomenal progress of the New-comers, gave rise had its first unfortunate reaction quite early, during the campaign against Gujarat over Mahim.²⁵ It is alleged that after the campaign was over, a party of Old-comers went in a deputation to the Crown Prince, who was commanding the Bahmani forces, and told him that it was the afaqis and not they who had really decided to retreat. The Prince was impressed by what he was told, and the result of this non-cooperation between the factions was that the Gujaratis defeated Maliku't-Tujjar's forces and his own brother *Khumais* b. Hasan was taken prisoner along with many others.

Perhaps the next great influx of the New-comers was in connection with the advent of Shah *Khaliu'l-lah* son of the saint Shah Ni'matu'l-lah Kirmani. It will be remembered that the Bahmanis were great patrons of learning and piety and the more thoughtful of them tried to call to the Deccan those whose intellectual worth made them prominent in their own spheres. Ahmad was himself noted for his erudition in arts and sciences, and always regretted that

there was no one of any eminence in the world of learning left in the Deccan after the death of Hazrat Gesu Daraz.²⁶ So when he heard of the great piety and learning of Shah Ni'matu'l-lah he began to think of getting him to the Deccan and sent Shaikh Habibu'l-lah Junaidi and Mir Shamsu'd-din Qurnmi with numerous presents to him requesting him to grace the Deccan by his presence. The saint sent one of his disciples Mulla Qutbu'd-din Kirmani to Bidar instead, with a twelve-peaked crown as a present to the king. It is said that as soon as the Mullah drew near the king exclaimed that this was the person whom he had seen in a dream on the night of the battle with Firoz with the identical crown in his hands.²⁷ He now sent another deputation to Kirman consisting of *Khwaja* 'Imadu'd-din Samnani and Saifu'l-lah Hasanabadi asking the saint to send at least one of his sons if he could not come to the Deccan himself; but this time also the saint made his excuses saying that he had only one son *Khalilu'l-lah* from whom he did not want to be parted and sent his grandson Shah Nuru'l-lah instead. On receiving this auspicious message, Ahmad sent his own palanquin to the Chaul harbour and commissioned Syed Muhammad Sadr and Mir Abu'l Qasim Jurjani to receive him on the boat itself. When the party arrived near Bidar, he himself went out to receive the honoured guest as far as Raintur. The spot where Shah Nuru'l-lah met the king was henceforward called Ni'matabad, while Shah Nuru'l-lah was created *Maliku'l-Masha'ikh* giving him his precedence over all the *Masha'ikh* of the Deccan including the descendents of Hazrat Gesu Daraz whom he venerated so much.²⁸ The king admitted him into the bosom of his own

family by marrying his own daughter to him. After Shah Ni'matul-lah's death on 22.7.834/5.5.1431 his whole family migrated to Bidar including Shah Habibul-lah, surnamed *Ghazi*, who also became the king's son-in-law. He was given the jagir of Bir and Shah Muhibu'l-lah was given the daughter of the Crown Prince 'Alau'd-din in marriage.²⁹ The king began to have such a belief in the *Masha'ikh* and Syeds in general and the Kirmani family in particular that when the first anniversary of Shah Ni'matu'l-lah's death arrived, he himself washed the hands of the *Masha'ikh* gathered together for the occasion.

There are two episodes which show the great regard which Ahmad had for those from 'Iraq and also possibly his inclination towards the Shi'ah doctrine. Firstly, he sent thirty thousand silver tankas to be distributed to the needy Syeds of Karbala which shows his leaning towards the Shi'ah doctrine. It is further related how when a member of the Deccan aristocracy, Sher Mulk by name, insulted one Syed Nasiru'd-din Karbala'i, he had the culprit trampled to death by a mad elephant regardless of his rank in society.³⁰ It seems that towards the end of his reign the Old-comers or the "Dakhni" party began to be entirely neglected by the king and his entourage became wholly composed of New-comers.

FUSION OF CULTURES

It might seem from the foregoing account of the influx of the New-comers that there was no trace left of any Hindu influence in the polity of the Bahmani kingdom, but this is far from the truth. We have already seen the attempts of Firoz to create a composite culture in the Deccan and these

attempts were carried on by Ahmad as well. For an example of this influence we may refer to the manner in which the 'Urs or the anniversary of the king's death is celebrated to this day. The first thing to remember is that the anniversary is celebrated not according to the Hijri reckoning but according to the Hindu Calendar, i.e., on the twentieth of the lunar month in which the Holi festival is celebrated, and this is the date on which the ceremonies connected with the 'Urs really start. Then it is the Jangam or the head of the Lingayats of Madhyal in the Gulbarga district who comes to Bidar with a train of about three hundred men, and a number of camels and horses. It is this Jangam who enters the sepulchre every day of the 'Urs with orchestra and all emblems of royalty, blows the conch, crushes open the coconuts according to the accepted Hindu fashion, and makes an offering of flowers to the sepulchre. But this Jangam is dressed as an orthodox Muslim with a dervish cap on his head, a staff in his hand and clothed in the flowing robes of a Muslim divine. The 'Urs is attended by thousands of Hindus and Muslims who consider Ahmad to be a saint without any distinction whatever.³¹

Ahmad was himself a man of creative temperament and is related that he invented a number of new designs in artillery technique.³² Bidar must have been a great place for the manufacture of munitions of war, and there is still a ward of the town named after the polishers of iron where swords and daggers used to be polished. The public of Bidar was also made to attend to manly exercises, and even today the city, or what is left of it, is divided according to the four great schools of athletics and military training

although very little of the former glory is left.³³

We have already related how the Bahmani influence has found its place in the architecture of Vijayanagar. But perhaps even more strange is the fact that in an inscription on a copperplate grants of June 26, 1424, calls the Deva Raya II of Vijayanagar "Suratrana" or Sultan. We are also told that as early as 1430 there were ten thousand Muslims in the Vijayanagar cavalry and that one of the companions of Deva Raya himself was a Muslim named Ahmad Khan³⁴—facts which clearly remind us that in Ahmad Shah's time the line of demarcation in the Deccan could not have been purely communal by any means.

This aspect of life is also to be perceptible in the advice which the king is said to have given to his sons when he made the eldest Crown Prince and gave charges of the provinces of the Kingdom to other sons towards the end of his reign. Apart from the promise on which they were made to swear that they would not oppose each other, they were admonished to be good to the following classes of their subjects: (i) the learned, who were the possessors of the secrets of knowledge of matters temporal as well as spiritual; (ii) servants of the state as in them lay the power of doing good to the people; (iii) royal councillors as it was they who helped to frame the policy of the state; and (iv) farmers and cultivators as it was they who provided food to all and sundry.

§ 2. POLITICAL ASPECTS POLICY OF CONCILIATION

Immediately on his accession to the throne on 3.10.825/22.9.1422 the new Sultan set to work to minimise the

effects of the cleavage which had brought him to the throne. As has been mentioned above he created the man who had saved his life, *Khalaf Hasan Basri*, *Maliku't-Tujjar*, and made him Prime Minister of the kingdom, while at the same time he extended his hands to his opponents by bringing into favour *Hoshiyar 'Ainul'-Mulk* and *Bedar Nizamul'-Mulk* making them *Amiru'l-Umara* and *Sarlashkar* of *Daulatabad* respectively. Following the policy of toleration, he gave a mansab of 500 to his nephew and potential enemy *Hasan Khan*, who was given a jagir with its centre at *Firozabad*, the capital of his father. The only limitations to his movements were that he was not allowed to go more than four *kroh* or about seven miles from his palace. He led a luxurious and even a licentious life and lived on through his uncle's reign. We are told that he was blinded by *Ahmad's* successor *'Alau'd-din Ahmad II* and we hear no more of him.³⁵

Ahmad seems to have systematised the *Mansabdari* system giving a mansab of 2,000 to each *Sarlashkar*, 1,500 to the *Amiru'l-Umara*, 1,200 to *Wakil*, and *Mansabs* ranging from 100 to 1,000 to other amirs. He also ordered that those receiving the mansabs of 1,000 and over should be allowed to use their own ensign, drums and necklace.³⁶ The reason why the mansab to the *Sarlashkars* and the *Amiru'l-Umara* was of greater monetary value than that of the Prime Minister was that the former were military commanders and while they had jagirs in their possession for the army, they had to keep their own position dignified and secure by the amount of the mansab.

VIJAYANAGAR AND TILANGANA

It was not long after his accession that Ahmad renewed the struggle with Vijayanagar, as certain matters had been left undecided by the death both of Firoz and Devaraya of Vijayanagar in 1422. Ahmad left the pangs of the obvious defeat of the Bahmani arms during the last days of his late brother's reign, and in 1423 set out with the formidable army of forty thousand horse towards the south.³⁸ Bukka III who was ruling Vijayanagar rightly felt how powerless he was to stand alone and sent messengers to Anapota Velama of Tilangana for help, at which Anapota sent his forces commanded probably by Linga to his southern neighbour. It is related that the Velama forces defeated the Bahmanis at Torgul Badami and Etgir, exterminating the entire Muslim population from the first two places.³⁹ The Bahmani and the Vijayanagar armies came face to face on the banks of the Tungabhadra, and although the Vijayanagaris had a force of nearly two lacs of infantry, artillery and archers, they chose to carry on a guerilla warfare attacking the Bahmani camp every night and killing men and horses in great numbers. When Ahmad got thoroughly tired of waiting he crossed the river with his 2,000 gun-carriages hoping to drive the enemy into a regular battle, but the Vijayanagar army seems to have retreated further back leaving their territory to be pillaged by Ahmad's soldiers.

A council of war was now held in the Bahmani camp and it was decided to cross the Tungabhadra in full force. The Velamas were the first to take to their heels and returned to Tilangana. Then a most extraordinary thing happened. When 'Alam Khan, Lodi Khan and Dilawar Khan Afghan

had crossed the Tungabhadra with 10,000 soldiers they came across Bukka Raya who was sleeping on the edge of a plantation of sugar cane. When he saw the Bahmani soldiers going unwarily through the field, he became so frightened that when they came up to him he pretended that he was only a gardener and carried out their orders to carry a load of sugar canes for them, thanking Gods that he had not been recognised. In the meantime it was rumoured in the Vijayanagar camp that Ahmad Shah had crossed the river and that the Raya had disappeared, and dispirited as the Vijayanagar army was, the Sultan's soldiers played havoc with it. At the first opportunity offered to him Bukka fled and joined his staff, flying back to his capital where he shut himself up. The Bahmani army, tired of the waiting game, committed many atrocities and sent four idols to be placed in front of Hazrat Gesu Daraz's tomb at Gulbarga as a good omen."⁴⁰

It was now the Sultan's turn to be surrounded while off his guard. It is related that on the Persian New Year's Day, the Sultan pitched his camp on the bank of a lake for a relaxation from work in the form of a buck shoot. He strayed away more than eight miles from the main camp when he was overtaken by five or six thousand of the enemy cavalry unawares and had to fly headlong to a new barn built by farmers in a field. Before he could reach the walls of the barn the enemy overtook his retainers and in the skirmish two hundred of the latter were killed, while it was with the greatest difficulty that Ahmad could himself scale the walls of the enclosure. On that day, one of the most critical in the Sultan's life, many of his entourage showed their mettle, and among those who are named are Syed Husain Badakhshi, Mir

Farrukh Badakhshi Mir 'Ali Sistani, Mir 'Ali Kurd, 'Ubaidu-'l-lah Kabuli, *Khusrū* Uzbek, *Khawaja* Hasan Ardistani and Qasim Beg Safshikan. The Hindus, whose numbers were more or less intact, now tried to pull down the walls of the enclosure. In the meantime, however, there was hubbub in in the royal camp at not finding the king, and a high officer in the army, 'Abdul-Qadir, gathered together two or three thousand soldiers from the *Khasa Khel* or Royal Bodyguard and headed towards the enclosure which had already been partly demolished by the enemy. In the fight which ensued the Bahmani soldiers got the upper hand and thus the king's life was saved when almost every thing had been lost.⁴¹

It was a great day for the New-comers for, as will be noticed, every one of those who had saved Ahmad Shah from a vile death at the hands of the enemy, belonged to that group. The king there and then granted the little *برادر جان بخشش* to 'Abdu'l-Qadir, created him *Khan-i-*

Khanan and made him *Sarlashkar* of Berar with a mansab of 2,000,⁴² while his brother 'Abdu'l-Latif who had also fought bravely to save the life of the king, was created *Khan-i* Azam and made *Sarlashkar* of Tilangana. He gave mansabs of 300 to many other New-comers such as Syed Hasan Badakhshi and Mir 'Ali Sistani while Qasim Beg Safshikan became a mansabdar of 500 with a jagir at Kalhar and *Khawaja* Beg was created *Qalandar Khan* and made the *darogha* of Gulbarga. Mir 'Ali Kurd was made a *hazari* and *Khawaja* Hasan Ardistani and *Khusrū* Beg Uzbek appointed to teach the heir to the throne the art of bowmanship and archery. To crown all this *Khalaf* Hasan Muliku't-

Tujjar was ordered to collect three hundred archers from 'Iraq, *Khurasan*, Transcaspian regions, Asia Minor and Arabia for the Royal army.

After this hairbreadth escape the king marched on to Vijayanagar itself and sent a messenger to the Raya that one of the conditions of peace would be that the Raya should have all the arrears of tribute loaded on the backs of the elephants from his stables and these should be sent to the Sultan's camp with bands playing in front and with the Crown Prince of Vijayanagar at the head of the procession. This was promptly done, and when the cavalcade arrived at the Sultan's camp it was received in right royal fashion by the Bahmani nobles and conducted to the king's presence. The king forthwith clothed the Crown prince of Vijayanagar with royal robes and a bejewelled dagger and presented him with Arab and Turkish horses and elephants, greyhounds and three falcons. After these ceremonies the king marched back towards the Krishna where he said goodbye to the Crown Prince.⁴⁴

We have noticed how in the beginning of the campaign the Velamas had sided with the Raya Vijayanagar against Ahmad Shah. Bukka III died early in 1423 and was succeeded by Deva Raya II,⁴⁵ but this did not make any difference to Ahmad's plans, for he wanted now to punish the Velamas and therefore marched right into Tilangana in 828/1425 halting for a while at Golconda. Here he rested for a month and twenty days sending *Khan-i A'zam* 'Abdu'l-Latif *Khan* in advance to Warangal, where the fight between his forces and Anapota II ended in the latter's death on the battlefield. The Sultan now entered Warangal in triumph

and *Khan-i A'zam* was sent to subjugate the whole of Tilangana which he did in a few month's time. The king now returned to his capital having achieved his purpose and left *Khan-i A'zam* as Governor of Tilangana.⁴⁶

MAHUR CAMPAIGNS

The Sultan did not take much rest after the arduous campaigns in the south and the east and in 829/1426 was soon on horseback for the north to reclaim Mahur which had somehow gone into the hands of a local chieftain. The accounts given to us of Mahur campaign or series of campaigns by our authorities are rather obscure. It seems that he had to lead a number of campaigns into the Mahur country. In the first campaign as the king approached the country, the Mahurians hid themselves in the jungle either underground or at the tops of the mountains and evidently carried on a guerilla warfare. The Sultan's route was clear, and he over-ran the whole country and even right into the territory of the ruler of Gondwana as far as the diamond mines owned by him. It seems that after partly accomplishing his object the Sultan went and spent a whole year at Ellichpur and in the meantime captured Gawil and repaired the fort of Narnala. The next year, 830/1427, Ahmad Shah again marched to Mahur which had been left unsubdued, but even now he could not take it and had to return to the capital. It was third onslaught against Mahur which was successful after all and, perhaps in order to cover his hard earned conquest, the Sultan advanced as far as Kullum and reduced that fort in the first onslaught. He was particularly harsh in this campaign as he killed the chief outright and

treated the people with scant kindness.⁴⁷

MALWA

What Ahmad Shah really wanted was to preserve his line of communications with the capital and cover his rear as he wished now to take possession of *Khandesh*, Malwa and Gujarat which Timur had granted to his brother Firoz, and then proceed to the final assault on Vijayanagar. He, the first Bahmani of Bidar, was in fact reviving the ambitions of his ancestor Bahman Shah, the first Bahmani of Gulbarga. He rightly perceived that the principality of Kherla was a point of vantage between Malwa and the Deccan, and its chief, Narsingh, had, of his own accord, perhaps out of fear of Hoshang of Malwa, sent presents to the Sultan along with the keys of the citadel and requested Ahmad Shah to declare Kherla a Bahmani protectorate. Ahmad Shah sent a farman to *Khan-i Jahan* 'Abdu'l-Qadir, Governor of Berar, to collect the levies of the province and hurry to Narsingh's help, while the Sultan himself started in 832/1429 with 6,000 cavalry for Ellichpur, where he moved on to Kherla itself. Rumour now spread that Narsingh had become disloyal and broken his plighted word, allying himself with Hoshang Shah⁴⁸ who had got some inkling into the intentions of the Bahmani Sultan. It was also hinted that Narsingh had promised to give the king of Malwa one lac of tankas for every day's march towards Kherla.⁴⁹ Hoshang came to Kherla by forced marches with an army 30,000 strong. Perhaps perceiving the difficulty of his task Ahmad, who had barely half that number under his command retreated into actual Bahmani territory. He thought that Hoshang had two alternatives, either to retreat

back into the Malwa, or else to attack the Deccan. He considered the second alternative to be more advantageous to himself as in that case he would be in a better position to defend his own territory. Now the nobles and staff officers wanted to come to grips with the Malwese immediately, while men like Mulla 'Abdu'l-Ghani and Mufti Sadru'd-din protested that he should desist from fighting against another Muslim as far as possible. Ahmad sent a message to Hoshang that he would be willing to retreat if the other side also went back home, and it was no use shedding each other's blood. Without waiting for a reply Ahmad Shah broke his camp and retreated, pursued by the Malwese who pitched their tents on the identical spot quitted by him.

At this critical juncture the king boldly faced his staff and justified his retreat by saying that formerly it was he who was perhaps in the wrong but now the enemy had attacked his dominions it was his duty to oppose him. In the battle that ensued the king gave charge of the right wing to Khan-i Jahan 'Abdu'l-Qadir and of the left to Abdu'l-lah the grandson of Isma'il Mukh while the centre was under Crown Prince 'Alau'din. Both armies soon got interlocked with arrows and axes flying hither and thither, and dense hand to hand fighting ensued lasting the whole day and terrible slaughter raged on both sides. At the time of the afternoon prayers the Sultan touched the ground by his forehead prayed God to grant him victory, after which he fell on the Malwese with his well-equipped reserve of 10,000 picked horse and 12 elephants. As night fell the rout of the Malwese was complete and they left the field leaving 2,000 killed. The king of Malwa himself left the field and hurried

back to his kingdom as he could leaving his sons, daughters and zenana behind. Ahmad now showed that he was a man of chivalry; he actually gave costly presents to the Malwese princes and sent them and the ladies over the border with a strong force to guard them.

Narsingh now begged the king's pardon and was permitted to invite him to his palace where they feasted him in a right royal manner. The king declared Kherla to be a Bahmani protectorate and honoured Narsingh who accompanied him as far as Mahur which was henceforward to be the northern outpost of the Deccan. Ahmad Shah left his second son Mahmud Khan governor of the territory where he remained till the end of his day.⁵¹

PRINCE 'ALAU'D-DIN'S MARRIAGE

With both Malwa and Gujarat as potential enemies, Ahmad Shah naturally looked to Nasir Khan Faruqi of Khandesh for an alliance, especially when he saw that Faruqi was always afraid of the rising power of Gujarat. It was about this time that he sent 'Aziz Khan to Khandesh requesting the hand of his daughter, Agha Zainab for the Crown Prince of the Deccan. The girl was sent to Bidar for her marriage and as has been related above, the capital was all *en fete* for many weeks. The marriage took place at the hour allotted to it by astrologers, and after the ceremony was over the king distributed costly silken robes, jewels, pearls and ornaments to those taking part in the function.⁵²

KONKAN AND GUJARAT

Towards the end of 830/-1427 the Sultan made Maliku't

Tujjar *Khalaf* Hasan Basri a mansabdar of 2,000 and appointed him Governor of Daulatabad, ordering him to clear the Konkan territory from dacoits and rebels and put an end to such chieftains as exceeded their authority. The new governor was highly successful in this campaign and sent many elephants laden with booty to the capital besides capturing a number of fortresses. We have already related how *Khalaf* Hasan was honoured when he returned to Bidar to the great chagrin of the Old-comers who naturally could not see eye to eye with him.⁵² Now, some kind of quarrel had cropped up between Ahmad I of Gujarat, one of the most eminent of Gujarati monarchs, and Hoshang Shah of Malwa over a certain Raja Kanha of Jhalawar who was being pursued by Ahmad and who had taken refuge with Hoshang in 833/1430. Shihabu'd-din Ahmad thereupon sent Bahmani forces to support the Raja and this army advanced as far as Nandurbar and Sultanpur sacking every thing that came in the way. Ahmad of Gujarat thereupon sent the Commander-in-Chief Muqarrabu'l-Mulk, Ifitkaru'l-Mulk, Syed Abu'l Qasim and Syed 'Alam with the Crown Prince Muhammad at their head to Nandurbar, where the Deccani forces were defeated and had to fly back to Daulatabad. On getting news of this disaster the Bahmani Sultan sent the Crown Prince 'Alu'd-din who was met at Daulatabad by Nasir *Khan* Faruqi and the Raja of Jhalawar. There was another battle with the Gujarat army at the "Pass of Manek" where again the Deccani army was defeated. Shihabu'd-din Ahmad was much grieved and he was about to try and make amends for the loss he had sustained, when news was received that Rai Qutb, Governor of Mahaim on behalf of Gujarat was dead, and he ordered

*Khalaf Hasan Malik*u't-Tujjar, who was then campaigning in the Konkan, to advance and occupy the island.

On hearing this Ahmad of Gujarat commissioned his son Zafar *Khan*, who had already won laurels on the field of battle, with *Iftikharu'l-Mulk* against *Khalaf Hasan* and ordered *Mukhlisu'l-Mulk*, Kotwal of Diu, to go to Konkan which he did with a fleet of 17 sails from Vcraval, Gogha, Cambay and Diu. The Gujarati forces surrounded Thana, which was a Bahmani stronghold, and forced the *Qil'adar* to fly. Zafar *Khan*, heartened by victory, now advanced to Mahaim where there was an engagement between the Bahmani forces and Gujaratis which lasted the whole day, at the end of which *Khalaf Hasan* had to retire to the adjacent island of Bombay. He sent an urgent message to the capital for help. *Shihabu'd-din Ahmad* immediately sent an army of 10,000, and 60 elephants to the west under the command of Prince Muhammad who soon joined his eldest brother the Crown Prince 'Alau'd-din. Unfortunately 'Alau'd-din became ill and had to move a few days march away from the scene. It has already been noticed that a considerable amount of jealousy had risen in the minds of the Old-comers against the sudden rise of the Afaqis, and just when the Deccani and Gujarati forces were preparing for a decision on the battlefield, leaders of the Old-comers went in deputation to the Prince and poisoned his mind against the New-comers.⁵³ Not only that, they also decided that they would not take part in actual fighting in order to leave *Khalaf Hasan* in the lurch. The Gujaratis perhaps came to know of the rift in the Bahmani ranks. So when the opportune hour arrived, they fell upon the Bahmani forces and cut

them to pieces. They captured Maliku't-Tujjar's brother *Khumais b. Hasan* and carried off a huge booty consisting of numerous horses and elephants and other valuable articles found in the baggage and equipment left on the field by the defeated Bahmani army.⁵⁴

On receiving news of this great tragedy the Sultan ordered the mobilisation of all available forces at Muhammadabad-Bidar and himself proceeded to the Gujarat border pitching his camp on the frontier town of Besol or Beul which he invested. The Hindu chieftain of Beul sent word to the king of Gujarat for help promising regular tribute in future if he were to rid him of those unwelcome visitors from the south. On receiving this message the king of Gujarat proceeded to the scene with a large army, and as he approached Beul the Bahmani Sultan retired some distance while the Gujarati forces followed him. The two armies at last pitched their camps on the opposite banks of the Tapti⁵⁵ and again there was a stalemate, neither of the opposing monarchs allowing his forces to cross the river and engage the enemy in full force though probably some small skirmishes went on. Both parties sought the advice of learned men, who were evidently following the camp, as to what should be done in order to stop further shedding of blood, and finally a treaty was entered into at Beul between the two potentates under which that town was handed back to Gujarat, but otherwise *status quo* was agreed upon. This treaty of Beul important as, excepting for is remarkable in that it was a short episode in the next reign it was kept as an article of faith both by Gujarat and the Deccan for a century and subsisted right up to the time when the Bahmani kings had lost effective

control over their governors and subordinates.⁵⁶

SECOND MALWESE CAMPAIGN

Ahmad Shah had to fight Hoshang of Malwa once again. When Hoshang saw that the Bahmani Sultan was busy with Gujarat and was showing a certain amount of weakness, he led an army against the ally of the Deccan Narsingh of Kherla in 837/1434 and killed him. Ahmad immediately proceeded to the north to fight his sworn enemy, but his kinsman Nasir Khan of Khandesh came in the way and used his good offices to arrange a treaty between the two under which it was decided that Berar should go to the Deccan and the suzerainty over Kherla should be transferred to Malwa.⁵⁷

TILANGANA AGAIN

Probably taking advantage of all this certain outlying parts of the kingdom, especially Tilangana, had rebelled against the Bahmanis. Rajahmundry had already been lost and Doddya Alla was ruling there as an independent chief, and now the Velamas declared their independence and perhaps drove out A'zam Khan the Governor from the province. Ahmad, who must have been growing old, moved into Tilangana in 1433 with a large army conquering the forts as they came in the way. Singa III of Warangal had to lay down his arms but was left in possession of his territories in consideration for an annual tribute. Other chiefs who held out were dealt with a stern hand by the Sultan, but in the end most of the captured forts were left in possession of the local potentates. After having accomplished his task,

the aged Sultan returned to his capital leaving Ibrahim Sanjar *Khan* as sarlashkar of Tilangana and gave him the fort of Bhongir and a considerable jagir for the support of the army which was left with him.⁵⁸

DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM

The old Sultan retired from public affairs now and gave over its full charge to Miyan Mahmud Nizamu'l-Mulk, "one of the wisest and the most learned of his contemporaries", while he sent Maliku-Tujjar to take charge of Dabul and other towns on the western coast.⁵⁹ In the last year of his reign he appointed his eldest son 'Alau'd-din Zafar *Khan* "who was well-versed in learning and was of proved character" to be his heir, giving him full charge of the kingdom in his own life time making his favourite son Sultan Muhammad his co-worker. He further gave charges of different provinces to his other sons, making Prince Mahmud Governor of Mahur, Kullum and Ramagiri with a part of Berar, and Prince Dawud Governor of Tilangana. Finally, perhaps remembering what had taken place between brothers of the Bahmani race in days gone by, he made all of them promise that they would in no circumstances oppose each other.⁶⁰

The king died on 29.12.839/14.7.1436 after a short illness.⁶¹

IMPORTANCE OF THE REIGN

As may be learned from what has been described above that Shihabu'd-din Ahmad's reign opened a new chapter in the history of the Bahmanis and it was he who, by making the rule of primogeniture the law of the state made its foundation

stronger than ever before. An instance of this rule may be seen in the fact that although Prince Muhammad Sultan, his third son, the one who gave his name for ever to Bidar, was dearer to him than any other son, it was the eldest, 'Alau'd-din, who was made heir-apparent to the throne. We are told that his reign was noted for its justice and fair play,⁶² and his chivalry to his erstwhile enemies is remarkable. We see him receiving the Crown Prince of Vijayanagar in right royal fashion and loading him with presents on his return to his defeated father, and giving back Kherla to Narsingh who had tried to stab him in the back, while his conduct in the battle-fields of Gujarat and Malwa was chivalrous to the extent that it was actually misunderstood by the ruler of Malwa. In the last years of his reign after quelling the insurrection in Tilangana, the Sultan actually gave back most of the conquered fortresses to their erstwhile owners and confirmed Singa III as the ruler of Warangal.

Ahmad was a pious and God fearing Sultan and is even now regarded a saint by a large majority of the people of the Deccan. In his reign Muhammadabad-Bidar became the rendezvous of the learned and the pious from all parts of Iran 'Iraq and Arabia. He was himself a man of some erudition, having imbibed knowledge at the feet of Mir Fazlu'l-lah Inju, and was also an adept in music and singing.⁶³ He was very kind and considerate to his subjects as when he opened his purse strings for the purchase and free distribution of coin at the time of a great drought which occurred in the Deccan.⁶⁴ We have already related how the king had an inclination towards the Sufi principles and perhaps also to the Shi'ah doctrine, and he encouraged the

influx of learned men, poets, statesmen, soldiers and others from over the seas, which, to a certain extent, led to a greater cleavage between these New-comers and the older colonists. There was also a direct Hindu influence on art, architecture and social life of the people partly owing to the policy of inter-marriage which was being pursued by the rulers and no doubt by the ruled as well since the last reign.

We have a remarkable testimony of the qualities of Shihabu'd-din Ahmad from the pen of an Egyptian grammarian who visited the Deccan, Muhammad b. Abi Bakr b. 'Umar al-Makhzumi a'd-Damamini. This learned author says that he began writing on Arabic grammar, which extends to 936 closely written pages, at Mahaim in Ramazan 825/September 1422 and completed it on 21.12.825/7.12.1422. He had then to leave Gujarat and come to Ahsanabad-Gulbarga then the capital of the kingdom and it was there that he copied out of the whole work from 23.2.826/15.1.1423 to 8.5.826/24.4.1423. He says that he went to Gulbarga in order to verify all that he had heard about this great city and to know the worth of the Sultan who was ruling the land and who was so much talked about in other lands. He says that the king was extremely popular with all and sundry and he did not come across one who might be hostile to him. He was regarded as brave, dignified and always willing to help others. After bestowing a hundred and one encomiums on the sovereign he dedicates it to him because, says he, he is a prince among the learned.⁶⁵

Such was the impression which Ahmad I made on those with whom he came in contact. His lenient policy at home

and the objective of friendly relations abroad made the Bahmani kingdom honoured and respected, and but for the Dakhni-Afaqi squabble the table was set for a prosperous era in the Deccan.

NOTES

1. The title *Shihabu'd-din* occurs in a tablet which is now built into the prayer niche of an old mosque at Rauza, a suburb of Sagar; see *Ep. Indo-Mosl.*, 1931-32, p. 16. This corroborates the title of the King in *Bur.*, 53. *Bur.*'s statement that the King's father was Ahmad Khan son of Bahman Shah, not Dawud, is corroborated by coins; the reverse of one of these clearly reads:

سلطان احمد شاه بن احمد الحسن البهمني

- See Speight, *Coins of the Bahmani Kings*, Isl. Cul., 1935, p. 295, Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan*, p. 56, note 40. This parentage is also described in *Munt.*, III, 67.
2. Ahmad I's sainthood is recognized by many present day inhabitants of the Deccan, both Hindu and Muslim, the Muslims calling him Hazrat Ahmad Shah Wali and the Hindus 'Alam Prabhu. One sees, in particular on the occasion of the Sultan's 'urs, hordes of Hindus and Muslims, men and women, standing on the grave begging the dead King's intercession with the Almighty. It is related that his prayers once brought rain to the famine-stricken Deccan. He was a great believer in the supernatural in Hazrat Gesu Daraz and Shah Ni'matu'l-lah Kirmani. See Zahiruddin, *Ahmad Shah Bahmani*, 1937, ch. 11.
 3. Immediately on his accession Ahmad gave a number of villages to Hazrat Gesu Daraz, and this endowment was recognised by succeeding generations of the rulers of the Deccan; see 'Abdu'l Jabbar Khan, *Tazkira*,

- p. 107, who says that the deed is still with the Sajjada Nashin of the mausoleum. Also see Ghulam 'Ali Azad, *Rauzatu'l-Aulia*, Aurangabad, 1310 H.
4. For a description and photographs of Hampi see Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, Delhi, 1933, especially plates 15, 16, 31, 32, 34, 36. 10,000 Muslims in Deva Raya's army; Sewell and Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, 217 (E. C. iii, ar. 15, x, 6, p. 72; xi, cd., 29)
 5. *Gulbarga* means stony land; Bashiru'd-din Ahmad, *op. cit.*, III, p. 450. Yazdani, *Antiquities of Bidar*, 1917, p. 1. Recently Dr. Yazdani has brought out an excellent book *Bidar, its History and Monuments*, but unfortunately the typescript of the present work was ready at the time of its publication and the author could not utilise it as much as he would have liked. Our chroniclers are lavish in their praise of Bidar. *Fer.*, I, 324, says that the plain of Bidar is "vast like the blue sky itself and the countryside is full of the most pleasant zephyrs smelling of vivid scents of flowers; *Bur.*, 54 and 55, says that "the soil of Bidar is as glittering as the firmament and is full of rivulets and flowers, while paths are bounded by green grass and the air is like the air of paradise itself;" *Tab.*, 417, tells us that "Bidar has a green expanse of land and a most enchanting climate." The episode of the fox and the hare; *Taz.*, fol. 10 (a). The tale of an old man of Bidar being stronger than a young man of another place is found in Zahiru'd-din, *op. cit.*, p. 87, quoting a Marathi Mss *Sultan Suri* which is in possession of a Patel of Solpur in the Bidar District. Strangely enough the story of the fox and the dog is repeated in the case of the choice of a site for Ahmadnagar; *Bur.*, 214.
 6. See K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 5. Also, Gurti Venkata Rao, *Bahmani-Vijayanagar Relations*, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress. Allahabad Session, pp. 264-271.
 7. *Fer.*, and *Khafi Khan* are for 830 H., while Burhan, p. 54, is for Rajab 827/June 1424. Syed 'Ali

Bilgrami in his Urdu *Tarikh-i Dakan*, part I, says that the change occurred in 833 H. but this might be due to a misprint as it is not corroborated by any reference to an original authority. Rafi'd'din says that Bidar was made capital "immediately after Ahmad's accession."

8. *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1931-32, p. 27; *Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department*, 1928-29, p. 8; Yazdani, *Bidar* pp. 54-56. There are coins in the Hyderabad Museum struck at "Muhammadabad" in 827/1424, which seem to be some of the first struck at Bidar. This is the exact year of the building of the mosque of Sixteen Pillars and seems to go a long way to prove that the capital was changed soon after Ahmad's accession. See *Ep. Ind. Mos.*, above, note 4, and Speight, *op. cit.*, p. 295. I do not agree with the learned writer of the article in the *Epigraphia* that the transfer of the capital was due to the wishes of Prince Muhammad.
9. *Bur.*, 57. Gulbarga was the capital of the kingdom at least on 24.4.1423, the date on which al-Makhzumi finished copying out his work on Arabic Grammar there. See below, note 64.
10. *Rep. Hyd. Arch. Dept.*, 1937-40, p. 2. Photographs of the tombs in the Urdu Guide *Rahmuma-i Rauzatalain*, 1359 H.
11. *Rep. Hyd. Arch. Dept.*, 1925-26, p. 708; the similarity to Firozabad architecture is not noticed there.
12. *Rep. Hyd. Arch. Dept.*, 1928-29, pp. 5 ff., 1929-30, pp. 23 ff.; 1931-33, pp. 4 ff., and 62 ff.
13. *Fer.*, I, 328 says that it was in 885/1432 that the fortifications of Bidar were completed, which means that the building operations were going on right through the reign. This is a further evidence to support the theory that Ahmad did not wait for the completion of the palace-fortress at all but moved to Bidar as soon as the necessary buildings had been erected. Dimensions; *Hyd. Arch. Rep.* 1928-29, p. 16.
14. *Epig. Indo. Mosl.*, 1931-32, p. 26. The mosque is is fully described in Yazdani, *Bidar*, pp. 54-56.

15. The covered area in the Bidar Mosque is 2,400 sq. ft., while in the Gulbarga mosque it is 27,780 sq. ft.; Bashiru'd-din, *op. cit.*, p. 135 and 504. This learned author wrote long before the recent excavations and so wrongly considered this to be a "ladies' mosque."
16. Probably the same structure as Peshgah mentioned by *Bur.* 71.
17. Zahiru'd-din. *op. cit.*, 156.
18. *Rep. Hyd. Arch. Dept.*, 1928-29, p. 9.
19. See Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan*, p. 38. *Bur.*, 77 says that the king awarded Azari one lac of Deccani tankas and 5,000 Iranian tumans when he returned home and 12,000 tankas to Maulana Sharafu'd-din Mazendrani who inscribed these lines on the palace gates. *Fer.*, I. 326 says that Azari was given 40,000 tankas along with 20,000 tankas as travelling allowance. Azari had been the king's tutor, and was the author of Bahman Namah, the metrical history of the dynasty which is no longer extant but which is partly the basis of Ferishtah's contemporary history. He died at Isfarain, his home, in 866/1462 at the advanced aged of 82. Translation of the lines:
 "What grandeur, what strength! that the very heavens appear as the top of this foundation of the edifice;
 "And even this comparison is most unworthy, for we have before us the palace of the ruler of the world, Ahmad Shah."
20. Detailed description of Ahmad's tomb in Bashiru'd-din, *op. cit.*, p. 124-126; Yazdani, *Bidar*, 54-56. The Shi'ite *darud*; *Rep. Hyd. Arch. Dept.* 1930-31, p. 4
22. It is wrong to translate Afaqi as foreigner as Haig has done in *Cambridge History of India*. II. Ch. 15 and 16, for although they originally migrated from Persia and other countries beyond the seas, all of them had made the Deccan their home; I have preferred to use the epithet *New-comers* to indicate the party. In contradistinction to these *New-comers* I have preferred to use the epithet *Old-comers* for the other

- faction, especially as they came to include the Habashis. We do not come across any prominent Deccani converts to Islam till the reign of Ahmad II. See Bilgrami, *op. cit.*, part I, pp. 167 ff.
23. This shows that at least in the fifteenth century it was regarded as an honour in the Deccan to be a merchant and to be called one.
 24. *Fer.*, I. 321, 327.
 25. For the campaign see below. Maha'im (modern Mahim, a suburb of the city of Bombay) was originally an island with Maha'im river to the North, the sea to the west and salt ranns to the east and south. See Burnell, *Bombay in the days of Queen Anne*, Hakluyt Society, 1933; map of the island as it was in 1770, opposite p. 90. Position, 18°55' N. 72°54' E.
 26. *Bur.* 54. For Shah Ni'matu'l-lah Kirmani see Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 463 ff. Names of envoys given in *Fer.*, I. 329 are different from those in *Bur.* 54, where Shaikh Khojan, a disciple of Shah Ni'matu'l-lah, Qazi Musa Naulakhi, tutor of Prince Muhammad, and Maliku'sh-Sharq Qalandar Khan are mentioned.
 27. *Fer.*, I. 329; *Munt.* III. 72. Sir Wolsley Haig argues from the twelve peaks of the crown that Ahmad henceforward adopted the Shi'ite doctrine, but this does not necessarily follow. See *J.R.A.S.*, 1924, pp. 73 ff.
 28. *Bur.* 65. *Ni'matabad*, now Ni'matu'l-lahabad, on the Manjira, in Hyderabad State 18°02' N., 77°35' E.
 29. *Fer.*, I., 329. Washing of the Masha'ikh's hands, *Bur.* 68.
 30. *Fer.*, I. 328. Most of the New-comers from 'Iraq and Iran, especially from Karbala, were no doubt Shi'ah. Shah Ni'matu'l-lah, surnamed Nuru'd-din (*Bur.* 65) was son of Mian Abdu'l-lah who was descended from the fifth apostolic Imam Hazrat Muhammad Baqir. I have been told that the descendants of Shah Khalilu'l-lah at Bidar are Shi'ah. See *Hyd. Arch. Dept. Rep.* 1930-31, p. 4, where he is said to have Shi'ah

predilections.

31. Zahiru'd-din, *op. cit.*, 166. Yazdani, *Bidar* has a very fine photographic reproduction of the jangam and his paraphernalia, Plate L. XXV.
32. *Munt.* III, 68.
33. Zahiru'd-din *op. cit.*, 33. The ta'lims are a unique institution at Bidar and the whole system seems to be a remnant of the influence of the Shi'ite doctrine on the masses, though in all probability it existed even before that influence crept in. The town of Bidar is divided into four ta'lims radiating from the Hindu monument, the Chaubarah, (which may have found a model for the town planning of Hyderabad centred in the Char Minar). These ta'lims are called after their founders, namely Siddiq Shah, Nur Khan, Maniyar and Pansal. The whole of the city is divided into these and each had an akhara or gymnastic square, a mosque and at least one school. The youth of the quarter were given physical, spiritual and secular training under their auspices. Although these ta'lims are closely allied to the Muharram celebrations for which they are in active preparation throughout the year, they are open to the youth of all castes and creeds, Hindu, Muslims, Shi'ah, Sunni, without distinction and are thoroughly democratic in character. Their distinctive emblems are the "Lion" for the Ta'lim Nur Khan, "Lion of God", *Sher-i Yazdan* for ta'lim Siddiq Shah and the "Lion Cub," *Sharzah* for ta'lim Maniyar. All these emblems symbolize the honorific title of *Sher-i Khuda* which is affixed to the name of the fourth Caliph 'Ali. This valuable information was given to me by my friend and former pupil, Mr. Mir Mahmud 'Ali, now lecturer in History, Osmania University, who himself hails from Bidar.
34. Sewell and Aiyangar, *Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 214, relying on *Satyamangalam*, C. P. grant and V. R. i. Bellary 356, 18 of 1904.
35. *Fer.*, I., 319.

36. *Ibid.*, 320; "Taoq, 'Alam, Naqqarah." There is a fairly good account of Jagir system, mostly derived from Barani's *Firozshahi* in 'Abdu'l-Jabbar, pp. 103-118.
38. Sewell and Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, 214.
39. *Velugot.*, Intro. 35.
40. Thus in *Fer.* I., 320, 321; Also see Amin Razi, *Haft Iqlim*; the parts relating to the Bahmanis printed in *Risala Tarikh*, Hyderabad, January 1929, pp. 53-64. *Bur.* 61 deals very shortly with the Vijayanagar campaign and places it after the war over Mahur. *Bur.* 58 does mention a Tilangana campaign independently of Vijayanagar when "Mandal and Warangal were conquered" and when "the Rayas of Rajakunda and Dewarkunda sent envoys to sue for peace." The whole episode seems to be rather cryptical, and there might well be two Tilangana campaigns.
41. *Fer.*, I., 320, 321.
42. 'Abdu'l-Qadir remained Governor of Berar for 40 years; *Fer.*, I. 34.
43. *Fer.*, I. 322.
44. *Ibid.*
45. Thus in Sewell and Aiyangar, 214. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, calls Bukka III Vira Vijaya and does not mention Bukka by that name at all. See genealogical tree on p. 24. Bukka reigned for a few months only in 1422 and was succeeded by Deva Raya II according to *S & A.*, 400. It is interesting to note that it was probably in this campaign that two Hindu boys, one a Brahmin and the other perhaps a prince of the house of Vijayanagar, were taken prisoners by the Bahmanis; they were the progenitors of the Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar and the 'Imadshahis of Berar. See *Fer.*, II. 93, 174.
46. *Velug.* Intro. 36 *Fer.* 322; Briggs, *Mahammedan Dynasties*, 406. It is probably this campaign to which *Bur.* 58 is referring; see note 40 above.
47. This is what can be gleaned from different, sometimes contradictory, accounts of the campaign given in our authorities. We find that in all these

Burhan always rejoices in the action of the Sultan who is supposed to have "rid the land of the unbelievers and polytheists" and replaced all the temples by mosques! Of course this is all untrue. This is a part of India where Muslims even now form a very small minority and there are myriad of old temples still standing. Our chroniclers are always fond of exaggerating what they consider to be commendatory acts of the rulers. A certain amount of harshness there probably was, as the country had to be subjugated with a considerable amount of effort. See *Bur.* 58-60; *Fer.* 323-325.

Gawil, now a deserted fortress in Amaraoti district, Berar; 20°22' N., 77°23' E.

Tarnala or *Narnala*, hill fort in Akola district, Berar; 21°15' N., 77°4' E.

48. *Bur.* 61 calls the king of Malwa *Ilkhan* which is probably a mistake for *Alaf Khan*, *Hoshang Ghori*'s name before his accession. *Hoshang* ruled over Malwa, 1406-1434. See *Amir Ahmad 'Alawi, Shahan-i Malwah*.
49. *Bur.* 62; *Fer.* I. 323. *Zahiru'd-din*, 103, note 1, has misinterpreted the condition, for he says that *Narsingh* promised to give one lac of tankas to *Hoshang* when he arrived at the frontier. The campaigns undertaken by *Ahmad* are mostly obscure and there is a certain amount of divergence in the description accorded to us by our authorities.
50. *Bur.* 62-64; *Fer.* I. 323-324, II. 238.
51. *Fer.* I. 327; *Bur.* 57.
52. *Bur.* 60; *Fer.* I. 327. *Bur.* says that the expedition was undertaken in 830/-1427.
53. *Bur.* 66 says that the Prince was still in the prime of his life and was not aware of delusion which "persons of deceit and excuse" *ارباب مکر و عذر* might cause in others' minds. It is possible '*Alau'd-din* was made a catspaw in view of his father's manifest inclination (i) towards his younger brother *Muhammad* and

- (ii) towards the New-comers.
54. *Fer.*, II. 188; I. 327; *Bur.*, 66-67. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, 1938, p. 89; Zahiru'd-din, iii. *Veraval*, port in Saurashtra State; 20°53' N., 70°26' E. *Gogha*, port in South East corner of Saurashtra State 21°39' N., 74°35' E. *Diu*, Portuguese possession in Kathiawar; 20°43' N., 71°2' E. *Sultanpur*, now in West Khandesh district, Bombay State 71°38' N., 74°55' E.
55. *Fer.* I. 328, II. 189; *Bur.* 66. There are certain minor differences in the description of *Bur.* and *Fer.* The accounts given by *Fer.* are fuller especially where he is dealing with the history of Gujarat.
56. This can be gleaned from *Fer.* I., 328 where he says that fighting went on the whole day.
57. *Bur.*, 69; *Fer.*, I. 328.
58. *Velug.*, Intr. 37, 38; *Bur.*, 69, 70.
59. *Bur.*, 70.
60. *Bur.*, 70, 71, says that the division was effected after the king had completed twelve years of his reign, i.e., just before he died, while *Fer.*, I. 327 puts it down on a date immediately after 'Alaud'd-din's marriage. *Velug.*, Intr. 38 has that Rajachal must have been conquered between 1433 and 1435 while Ramagiri was subdued in the last campaign. See *Tab.*, 415. *Rajachal* or *Rajakonda*, in the Nalgonda district, Hyderabad State, 17°10' N., 78°50' E.
61. Ahmad I ascended the throne on 3.10.825/22.9.1421 and reigned according to *Bur.* for 12 years, 9 months 24 days, which brings us to 28.7.838/27.2.1435 i.e., within eight days of *Tab.*'s date 20.7.838 H. But we have a more direct and almost contemporary evidence of a different date in an inscription in the interior of Ahmad's own sepulchre inscribed by Shukru'l-lah Qazwini, who records that the king died on 29.9.639/17.14.1436, and there is no valid reason why this date should not be taken as correct. *Taz.*, fol. 1041 is obviously wrong in assigning 842/-

1439 as the date of Ahmad's death. See Yazdani, *Bidar, its History and Monuments*, p. 125; incidentally Yazdani has read practically all the inscriptions in Ahmad Shah's tomb, for which see pp. 114-129. Also see *Bashiru'd-din*, I, 125. The name of the months as given by Shukru'l-lah Qazwani is *Shahr al-Maliki'l-'Allam*, the month of the All-Knowing King (God), which means the Ramzan.

62. *Bur.* 72. Here Muhammad is said to be the second son, while elsewhere we have a Prince Mahmud as well. It is possible both may have been the variants of the name of the same prince.

63. *Bur.*, 73.

64. *Fer.*, I, 322.

65. *Manhalu's-Safi fi Sharhi'l-Wafi*, Asafiyah, Nahw-i 'Arabi, 50. It appears from the colophon that the MSS is in the author's own pen; fol. 468 (b). There are a number of notices of the author in Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*: (1) in I, 312 (and supp. p. 545, where he is mentioned in connection with a commentary on *a'r Rami'atu'sh-Shafiah fi 'ilmi'l-'Uruz-i wa'l-Qafiah*; his name appears here as Muhammad b. Abi Bakr b. 'Umar al-Makhzumi and date of his death mentioned as 827/-1424; (2) in II, 26 (and supp. p. 21) where his fuller name is given as Muhammad b. Abi Bakr b. 'Umar.....b. Abi Bakr b. Muhammad b. Soleyman.....at Makhzumi.....a'd-Damamini, surnamed Badru'd-din. There is reference here to *Sakhawi, Dau.* VII 184-187. He was born at Alexandria in 763/1362 and died at Gulbarga in 827/1424. It should be noted that neither Brockelmann nor *codices Arabici*, British Museum, 1871, II, 644 (where there is a notice of the author) mention the work under consideration, the Hyderabad copy of which seems to be unique. I have requested the Librarian of Asafiyah Library to investigate the point further.

CHAPTER 8

PARTY SYSTEM INTENSIFIED

'ALAU'D-DIN AHMAD II

17.4.1436—7.5.1458

§ 1. CULTURAL ASPECTS

Ahmad I had been highly successful as a king, and when he died he was popular even to the extent of being regarded as a saint and respected by foreign powers as well as by his own people. His successor 'Alau'd-din, who assumed the title of Ahmad on his accession, was a man of a different type.¹ The land wanted a strong personality to keep the balance between the elements which went to form the Bahmani kingdom, whereas he was a weak-willed monarch, well-intentioned no doubt, but prone to caprice and pusillanimity. The result was almost a foregone conclusion, and the presence of a large number of New-comers or Afaqis from over the seas created a great cleavage between them and the Dakhnis or Old-comers which had its unfortunate repercussions on the future of the kingdom itself.

OLD-COMERS AND NEW-COMERS

On the accession of the new Sultan there was a reaction from the policy of Ahmad I, and we read that the new king released all the prisoners who had been unjustly imprisoned in his father's lifetime and dismissed certain high officials,

appointing others in their stead. As early as the first *Khandesh* campaign when the king held a council of war and asked those in authority what should be done to meet the invasion of the Deccan, the rift between the Old-comers and the New-comers became apparent and he was forced to send only the New-comers to the battlefield under *Khalaf Hasan Basri*. The latter had avowed that the defeat of *Maha'im* in the time of the late king was due to the feeling of animosity between the Old-comers and the New-comers in the Bahmani forces. The New-comers came back with flying colours and *Khalaf Hasan* was feted as never before, to the great chagrin of the other party. One of the reasons for the rise of the New-comers may have been that they had family connections with the royal house, for three of the king's sisters were married respectively to *Jalal Khan* (grandson of *Syed Jalal Bukhari*), *Shah Nuru'l-lah* and *Shah Habibu'l-lah*, both sons of *Shah Khalilu-lah Kirmani*, while one of his daughters was married to *Shah Muhibbu'l-lah*, and now the king married his second daughter to another Afaqi, *Shah Quli Sultan Changezi*. He also ordered that on all ceremonious occasions in future the New-comers should appear on his right and the Old-comers on his left.² This, of course, upset the equilibrium resulting in a greater mutual antipathy than had ever existed before.

It was in the unfortunate affair at *Chakan* that 'Alau'd-din showed an utter lack of vision and foresight. When the right hand man of *Ahmad I*, *Khalaf Hasan Maliku't-Tujjar*, who had virtually assumed the leadership of the Afaqi party after the rout at *Maha'im*, was foully done to death by *Raja Shirke* in the dense forest of *Konkan*, the Sultan gave

the judgment, without verifying the real facts of the situation, that those shut up in the fort of Chakan should be done to death, and when the fugitives from this luckless group somehow reached Muhammadabad-Bidar, he gave them high honours, sequestered the property of their previous informants and imprisoned all those who had deluded him. These men rotted in prison till they were themselves executed on the receipt of a letter from Shaikh Azari from *Khurasan* some years later. The conflict between the two groups had reached such a pitch towards the end of the reign that had a new principle, that of equilibrium between the two groups, not crept into the politics of the Deccan the Bahmani kingdom would have disintegrated much earlier than it did. The protagonists of this new policy were two renowned persons, 'Alau'd-din's daughter-in-law Nargis Begam and his new find, Mahmud Gawan.

Here it should be noted that even if there ever was a purely communal Hindu-Muslim question in the Deccan, it had entirely disappeared by this time and the unhappy relations between Vijayanagar and the Bahmanis had become purely political in character. We have already noticed how Firoz was the protagonist of inter-communal marriages, and since then the demarcation between the classes of society had been horizontal and not vertical. The enrolment of the Muslims in the Vijayanagar army, the possibility of an alliance between the Gajapati and the Bahmani rulers against Vijayanagar, the wars of the Deccan against the Muslim states of Gujarat, *Khandesh* and Malwa, must all have led to the gradual obliteration of communalism and led the way to an "era of good feeling" between the

Hindus and the Muslims which was to be the distinguishing mark of the politics of the future in the Deccan.

ARCHITECTURE

We have already noticed how after Shah Ni'matu'l-lah Kirmani's death, his son Shah *Khalilu'l-lah* had migrated to the Deccan with all his family and had contracted marriage alliances with royal princesses for his sons. He died in 864/-1460 and a beautiful tomb was erected on his grave. This tomb is remarkable in having no dome at all, and has a beautiful inscription suls in character, executed by Mughis of Shiraz. Although the height of individual letters is fourteen inches and the whole inscription is forty feet long, yet it is perfectly symmetrical in form. The whole edifice is simple though imposing in style and testifies to the elegant taste then in vogue in the Deccan. The inscription is also interesting in that probably it is the first inscription yet executed in suls character. The Iranian influence is manifest not only in the slightly stilted arch of fine proportions and the margins of black stones carved in designs of rope pattern, leaf pattern and flower pattern, but also in the name of the fourth apostolic Caliph 'Ali appearing side by side with those of God and the Prophet on the facade.³ We have, further, a beautiful tile plaque with the two words, *Burj* and 'Ali most artistically intertwined, which in all probability goes back to this reign. One of the features of contemporary architecture is the extensive use of strikingly beautiful tiles of all hues, especially deep blue and deep green, which still adorn the tomb of the Sultan but, alas, which are fast decaying and falling to the ground in small pieces.⁴ The extensive use of

tiles of all patterns seems to have been a distinctive feature of Bahmani buildings of this period, and at least some of the specimens preserved in the Fort are probably reminiscent of Ahmad II's reign.

A remarkable building which perhaps goes back to this reign is the so-called *Takht-i Kirmani* which probably contains the *Takht* or the throne used by Shah *Khalilu'l-lah* himself. The edifice has one large arch leading to the doorway flanked by two sets of bricked-in small arches, quite pleasant cut plaster jambs and other decorations. The interior of the building consists of a large hall divided into three parts, by pillars, in the middle of which "a wooded throne is placed which is used during Muharram for certain Shi'ite rites."⁵

It is unfortunate that no care has been taken yet to preserve the garden palace which 'Alau'd-din built a few miles north-east of Bidar at Ni'matabad or Ni'matu'l-lahabad on the Manjira, the meeting place between Ahmad I and Shah *Khalilu'l-lah Kirmani*. This palace was erected after the Vijayanagar campaign. Ni'matabad became the virtual capital of the kingdom so long as Ahmad II lived and it is related that the palace was soon surrounded by the mansions of the nobles and amirs. Unfortunately like the other palace at Firozabad built by 'Alau'd-din's uncle, this palace is fast falling in and as a matter of fact nothing but a pavilion and a garden now remain; even these will disappear if nothing is done to preserve them.⁶ Another edifice which is no more was the great hospital built by 'Alau'd-din Ahmad which he erected at the capital and endowed a number of villages from the revenue of which the cost of medicines, food and drink of

the patients were disbursed, and where Muslim and Hindu hakims and vaidas looked after them.

The influence of Iran on the architecture of the Deccan may further be illustrated by the fine minaret situated at the foot of the hill on which Daulatabad fort stands, known as Chand Minar. This is a solitary minaret, built in 849/1445 in the approved Persian style. The minaret, like its two prototypes, the minaret at Mahmud Gawan's Mad-rassah at Bidar erected in 876/1472, and the later solitary minaret of Ek Minar ki Masjid at Raichur built in 919/1514, is absolutely round with balconies protruding round the structure to let the air and light in as well as for the Mu'ezzin to ascend and call the Muslims to prayer. All the three minarets, built within seventy five years, gradually slope from the bottom to the top in order to avert top-heaviness, and all the three are crowned by the Bahmani dome. This style of minaret architecture persists in the two tall minarets of Rauza-i Shaikh at Gulbarga built by Yusuf 'Adil of Bijapur, but it has changed in the sense that here much more of purely Indian influence has crept in.⁷

GENERAL CULTURE

Before his death the Sultan appointed his eldest son Humayun heir to the throne, and calling him to his bedside advised him that when time came for him to succeed him, he should in no case pass decrees without discussion and argument with royal councillors and should never incline towards the advice of those who had their own personal axes to grind.⁸ This shows the ideal which the king had in view but which he could not avail both by his own weak-

ness of mind and to the unfortunate political condition of the kingdom.

It was perhaps due to the unsettled atmosphere that the influx of learned men which had been going on since the days of Muhammad II was less apparent during the reign of 'Alau'd-din. Nevertheless the Bahmani tradition of attracting men of learning continued to a certain extent. We read of *Shaikh Ibrahim b. Shaikh Fathu'l-lah Qadiri* who came from Multan and dedicated to the Sultan his book named *Ma'arifu'l-'Ulum* where he catalogued all the known sciences and gave their exact definitions.⁹ Another and a much greater person who came to Bidar and made it his home during Ahmad II's reign, was Mahmud Gawan who was destined to make a mark in the history of the Deccan as a minister, commander, royal advisor, *litterateur* and martyr. He was already a middle aged man of 42 when he landed at Mustafabad-Dabol in 856/1453 as a merchant, and made his way to Muhammadabad-Bidar to sit at the feet of Shah Muhibbu'l-lah, grandson of Shah Ni'matu'l-lah Kirmani.¹⁰ No doubt the fact that Shah Muhibbu'l-lah was also the king's son-in-law and that there were a number of his own compatriots at Bidar must have been an additional incentive to him to go there. It is said that although he had brought a letter of introduction from the Governor of the seaport town, where he landed, it was with difficulty that he could approach the royal presence. But he soon made a mark by his great natural gifts and received confidence and favours from his royal master, so that "the application of the ointment of royal kindness entirely cured the wound" of his self-imposed exile,¹¹ and he, therefore, settled down at Bidar

making it his own and contributing vastly to the renown of the Bahmani State.

ARTS OF WAR AND PEACE

We are fortunate in possessing the description of certain aspects of Indian life left to us by the Italian traveller, Nicolo Conti, who was in the country about the middle of the fifteenth century. What he saw of Indian ships interests us in particular as they must have been the ships lying at anchor in the ports of the Deccan. He says that they were much larger than those built in the shipyards of Italy, while each of them bore five sails and as many masts. The lower part of these vessels was built with triple planks in order to withstand the force of the storms to which they were exposed in monsoon climes. He says that some of them were built in such a manner that if a part were shattered by the tempest, the remaining portion would safely accomplish the voyage to port.

Coming to the arts of war, Conti says that the army used javelins, swords, arm-pieces, round shields, bows and arrows. Writing especially of the inhabitants of Central India, he says that they made use of the ballistae and bombarding machines as well as siege pieces. It sounds most strange that pestilence was unknown and the people were "not exposed to the diseases which carry off the population in our own country."¹²

II. POLITICAL ASPECTS

'Alau'd-din Zafar Khan ascended the throne of the Deccan on the death of his father and assumed the title of

'Alau'd-din Ahmad. It was on the third day of his father's death that he performed the usual rites and bestowed alms in the name of his dead father, after which he went through the ceremony of enthronement with Shah *Khalilu'l-lah* on his right and Syed Hanif on his left.¹³ The great change in the point of view of the Bahmani state which had been effected since the time of Muhammad I was visualised by the fact that while Muhammad I did not view with favour a seat even for his father-in-law, Ahmad II allowed chairs not only for the two divines supporting him, but to other Syeds and learned men as well, such as, Qazi Qubul Ahmad Sadr Jahan and others of the same status. The auspicious ceremonies ended with prayers for the long life and prosperity of the King.¹⁴

The new king appointed Dilawar *Khan Afghan* as his Wakil or Prime Minister, *Khwaja-i Jahan Astrabadi* as his Wazir and an old and tried servant of the state, 'Imadu'l-Mulk *Ghori* as Amiru'l-Umra. His younger brother Muhammad had been a favourite of his father, and now he was granted extensive jagirs and given a number of elephants. Thus the new king acted according to the spirit of his father's desire that no harm should be done to any one of his sons after his death.

VIJAYANAGAR

'Alau'd-din had to lead a number of campaigns not only against the Hindu states of Vijayanagar and Tilangana, but also against the Muslim states of Gujarat, *Khandesh* and Malwa. The first war against Vijayanagar started in 839/-1436 over the usual non-payment of tribute which had been

in arrears for five years.¹⁵ The new Sultan sent his brother Muhammad Khan and the Amiru'l-Umara 'Imadu'l-Mulk to demand tribute by force. The demand was effective and Deva Raya immediately sent to the Sultan eight lacs of huns, twenty elephants and two hundred girls adept in the arts of dance and song.

This short and successful venture ended in the unfortunate rebellion of the king's brother, Muhammad Sultan in the same year. It so happened that while on his way home from Vijayanagar, the Prince broke his journey for a few days at Mudgal and while there, he was enmeshed by those who were inimical to the interests of the dynasty to which he belonged. He was told by some discontented officers of his own army that it was the will of his late father that he should rule the country jointly with his brother, but his brother had relegated him to a secondary task. It was therefore only fit that he should demand that the kingdom should be partitioned and he be given a moiety, or else that another throne be put by the side of the Takht-i Firoza for him and nothing be decided without his concurrence. The Prince was taken in by these proposals, put to death the old and faithful 'Imadu'l-Mulk and actually asked for help from Deva Raya of Vijayanagar. Deva Raya, who had probably instigated the conspiracy himself, readily gave Muhammad the help he wanted and thus tried to obtain by tortuous means what he had not been able to obtain on the battle-field. The Prince forthwith captured a number of orts such as Mudgal, Raichur, Sholapur and Naldrug and actually put a crown on his own head at a place on the banks of the Krishna. When the Sultan heard all this, he

was very much distressed and himself started from the capital to face his brother. In the battle-field Muhammad was beaten and had to fly to the jungle pursued by the Sultan's army which had, however, express orders not to harm his person in any way. In the end the Prince laid down his arms and begged the Sultan's pardon, and a treaty was drawn up between the brothers under which the Sultan gave him the Jagir of Rajachal in place of Prince Dawud who was dead.¹⁶

Fortune was also with the Sultan when he sent the Prime Minister Dilawar Khan against the Rajas of Sangameshwar and Ranel after having granted him robes of honour on the Persian New year's Day, 840/1.9.1436.¹⁷ There was not much fighting and the Khan returned with the pretty and accomplished daughter of the Raja whom the Sultan married in proper style and gave her the title of Zeba Chahra or Beautiful of Face. It seems, however, that there was some suspicion that Dilawar Khan had received a bribe at the hands of the Raja and when he saw that the Sultan was angry with him, he returned the Ring of Office to His Majesty who appointed the Abyssinian Dasturu'l Mamalik Wakil or Prime Minister in his place. His term of office was also shortlived as he proved to be very unpopular and was murdered at the instance of Prince Humayun whom he had displeased. The Sultan now made Mian Minna'l-lah Dakhni, "one of the wisests of the epoch," Prime Minister.¹⁸

KHANDESH

Not long after this, in 841/-1438,¹⁹ Ahmad had to fight against his own father-in-law Nasir Khan Faruqi of Khandesh.

Since his marriage with Zeba Chahra, daughter of the Raya of Sangameshwar, the family affairs of the royal palace had not been happy and there had been murmurings on the part of Zeba Chahra's co-wife Agha Zainab, who was entitled Malika-i Jahan since her husband's coronation. Malika-i Jahan complained to her father that she was being maltreated by her husband and, backed by his protector²⁰ Ahmad Shah King of Gujarat, Nasir Khan invaded Berar with his own forces and with the active help of the Raja of Gondwana. There seems to have been some sort of discontent among the nobles of Berar, and Nasir soon found a party there which declared its support for him as a descendant of the second Apostolic Caliph 'Umar al-Faruq. Khan-i Jahan 'Abdu'l Qadir, Commander of Berar, had to shut himself up at Narnala and to send immediate word to the Sultan. In the meantime Nasir Khan was feeling his way and had his *Khutbah* read on Fridays in the principal mosques of the province.

When 'Alau'd-din Ahmad got this serious news he immediately held a council of war at Muhammadabad-Bidar in order to prepare a programme for the defence of the kingdom. The cleavage between the two parties was soon evident, because the Dakhnis and the Habashis said that after what had happened at Maha'im in the last reign it was very difficult to overcome the joint forces of Gujarat, Malwa and Gondwana. Khalaf Hasan Maliku't-Tujjar retorted that the defeat of the Bahmani arms at Maha'im was due entirely to a rift between the New-comers and the Old-comers as the latter could never see eye to eye with a New-comer who was successful in his own line. He claimed that if His Majesty allowed only the New-comers to fight the *Khandesh*

forces, there was every likelihood of their success. The Dakhni party led by Miyan Minna'l-lah and *Khan-i Zaman* also agreed, more by way of taunt than otherwise, that only the New-comers should be sent to the north.²¹ The Sultan ordered such New-comers of tried merit as Qasim Beg Safshikan, Qara *Khan* Kurd 'Ali *Khan* Sistani, Istikharu'l-Mulk Hamdani, Rustam *Khan* Mazendrani, Husain *Khan* Badakhshi, *Khusru Khan* Uzbek, Majnun Sultan Changezi, Shah Quli Sultan Changezi and others as well as his body-guard of three thousand picked men, all Mughals, to accompany the commander.

Khalaf Hasan first went to Daulatabad and there appointed Dakhnis and Habashis to guard the Gujarat frontier and himself proceeded to Berar with 7,000 Arabs. *Khan-i Jahan* now came out of Narnala fort and joined hands with him at Mehkar. *Khalaf Hasan* now sent *Khan-i Jahan* and some Dakhni divisions to Ellichpur and Malapur to ward off a possible attack by the Raja of Gondwana from the north, and himself proceeded to Ronkher where Nasir *Khan* was encamped. A battle took place at Ronkher Ghat ending in the complete defeat of the *Khandesh* army. *Maliku't-Tujjar* now pursued Nasir *Khan* as far as the capital Burhanpur itself.²² Just when the prize was almost in the palm of his hand he heard that the army of Malwa had joined hands with the Gujarat forces at Nandurbar and Sultanpur to help Nasir *Khan* and he moved on to Laling by forced marches. The engagement which took place between the two forces resulted in the complete defeat of Nasir *Khan* and his allies who left seventy elephants and a large booty on the battlefield.²³

After achieving his objects *Maliku't-Tujjar* marched back

to the Deccan. Nasir Khan, overcome with anxiety and grief, was soon dead and was succeeded by his son Miran 'Adil Khan, the maternal nephew of Hoshang Shah of Malwa, as ruler of *Khandesh*. Miran saw how unequal he was to the task and immediately made peace with the Deccan.²⁴

The capital was on fete when the victorious army arrived back and the Sultan himself advanced seven miles to meet *Khalaf Hasan*. The king was mightily pleased with the New-comers and eventually gave one of his daughters in marriage to the Changezi prince Shah Qali Sultan. He decreed that in future the New-comers should be on the king's right and the Old-comers on his left in all royal processions and in the court itself. Thus a further and a more permanent rift was effected between the two groups of the population of the country.²⁵

VIJAYANAGAR AGAIN

Deva Raya of Vijayanagar was smarting under the blow which had fallen on him at the hands of Prince Muhammad and had moreover been foiled in his machinations to set up that prince against his brother. It was about 1442 that he began to consider that all this was perhaps due to his weakness on the field of battle, and set about reforming his fighting forces. The matter and manner of these reforms are an interesting episode and it would be well to quote the words of the English translator of Ferishtah's work verbatim.—

“About this time Dew Ray of Beejanuggar summoned a council of his nobility and principle brahmins; observing to them, that as his country (the Carnatic), in extent, popula-

tion and revenue, far exceeded that of the house of Bahmuny, and also as his army was more numerous, he requested them to point out the cause of the successes of the Mahomedans and of his being reduced to pay them tribute. Some said that the Almighty had decreed to them a superiority over the Hindoos for thirty thousand years, a circumstance which was foretold to them in their own writings. Others said that the superiority of the Moslems arose out of two circumstances: first, that their horses were stronger; . . . secondly, that a great body of excellent archers were always maintained by the kings of the house of Bahmuny. Dew Ray, upon this, gave orders to enlist Mussulmans in his service, allotting them estates, and erecting a mosque for their use in the city of Beejanuggur. He also commended that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion, and moreover, he ordered a Koran to be placed before his throne on a rich desk, so that the faithful might perform the ceremony of obeisance in his presence without sinning against their laws. He also made all the Hindoo soldiers learn the art of archery. He could soon muster two thousand Mahomedans and sixty thousand Hindoos well skilled in archery, besides eighty thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand infantry, armed in the usual manner with pikes and lances."²⁶

It so happened that sometime towards the end of 1442 or the beginning of 1443 an attempt was made on the life of Deva Raya II by one of his brothers and the Raya came to within an ace of being done to death.²⁷ There was naturally a long turmoil in the dynastic politics of Vijaya-

nagar and it is possible that the Sultan was contemplating an attack on the southern kingdom for the collection of the arrears of tribute to the amount of seven lacs of tankas which had not been paid. The raya flatly refused to pay the amount and forestalled the invasion of his own country. He seems to have first of all sent Danaik or Prime Minister to the north,²⁸ and then considering himself strong enough, and supported by the new model army he crossed the Tungabhadra in 1443 and captured Mudgal, sending his sons forward to subjugate Raichur and Bankapur. He himself marched right across the Doab as far as the Krishna, while his advance guard destroyed what they could at Nusratabad-Sagar and Bijapur.

The Sultan was greatly worried and sent word to all the four Tarafdars to gather their forces to meet the enemy. On the approach of the Bahmani forces the Raya retired to Mudgal, while the Sultan himself crossed the Krishna and encamped about nine miles from the fortress. He sent *Khalaf Hasan Maliku't-Tujjar* with the army of Daulatabad against the Raya's sons and *Khan-i Zaman Sarlashkar* of Bijapur with *Khan-i A'zam Sarlashkar* of Berar against Deva Raya himself. *Khalaf Hasan* engaged the forces commanded by the Raya's son at Raichur where the latter was wounded. He then proceeded to Bankapur, but before he could reach that place, the Raya's other son raised the siege and fled southwards. At Mudgal, where the Sultan was himself commanding the Bahmani army, there were fierce onslaughts by the Bahmanis and sorties by the Vijayanagaris, the balance of the battle sometimes shifting in favour of one and sometimes of the other. In the end the

Sultan's star was in the ascendant and the Raya's forces were beaten in the open field while his wounded son who had left the field at Raichur was also killed.

The Raya, deeply grieved shut himself up once again in Mudgal fort after having taken in his custody two of the Sultan's officers, *Fakhru'l-Mulk Dehlavi*²⁹ and his brother. On hearing this the Sultan sent a message to Deva Raya that if these two high officers were killed he would not deter from killing two lacs of his men to atone for their lives when time came. The Raya, evidently not in a mood to carry on the conflict any further, replied that he was willing to pay up all the arrears of tribute and to cease fighting if the Sultan promised that he would not cross the frontier in future. The Sultan agreed and treaty was forthwith signed, while *Fakhru'l-Mulk* was sent back to the Sultan's camp along with his brother and all the arrears of tribute duly paid.³⁰

Deva Raya II died on 24-5-1446 and was succeeded by his son Mallikarjuna.³¹ A new power had arisen in far off Orissa in the person of Kapilendra Deva or Kapileshwar who deposed Bhanudeva IV about 1434 perhaps with the help of the Bahmani Sultan, and became the founder of the famous Gajapati line of rulers.³² Kapilendra had, by this time conquered a large part of the coastal territory formerly belonging to Vijayanagar, annexed the state which had Rajahmundry as its capital and seized the fortress of Kondavidu. It seems that on Deva Raya's death, Sultan Ahmad II joined hands with his powerful Gajapati neighbour and the allies marched into Vijayanagar territory investing the capital itself. But the young Mallikarjuna was equal to the task and defeated the allies who had to retire homewards.³³

THE CHAKAN AFFAIRS

It has been noticed that the campaign led by the ill-fated Dilawar Khan against the Raja of Sangameshwar was short and successful, but it seems that all had not been well since then and the peace in western parts of the Bahmani kingdom was often broken. It was in 850/-1447 that the Sultan ordered Khalaf Hasan Maliku't-Tujjar, then commanding at Daulatabad, to proceed thither and make short work of the recalcitrant rulers of the coastal districts including Sangameshwar which was garrisoned by strong forces and was surrounded by a dense jungle. Khalaf Hasan started with seven thousand Dakhni and three thousand Arab cavalry and made Chakan his headquarters, building a strong fortress there. It was not difficult for him to subdue the local chiefs, but Raja Shankar Rao Shirke gave him trouble and it was with difficulty that he could be brought to book. When he was captured he outwardly embraced Islam, promised to pay an annual tribute and offered to lead the Bahmani army through the dense forest which separated his abode from that of Sangameshwar.³⁴ It was not all his army which followed the commander, and it is related that a number of Dakhnis and Habashis preferred not to face the hazards of the jungle. After marching for some time the New-comers arrived at a village which was situated on a bay and was surrounded by extremely high hills on the other three sides. It so happened that just then Khalaf Hasan became ill of an acute form of dysentery and the whole army was in fact very much fatigued. In the meantime the cunning Shirke had sent word to the Raja of Sangameshwar who forthwith dispatched thirty thousand infantry, lance bearers and artillery

to the place where *Khalaf* Hasan was camping. At the dead of the night a tragedy was enacted and the Hindus having surrounded the Bahmani army, put to death *Maliku't-Tujjar*, the hero of many a battle, while he lay ailing with disease, along with many thousands of his followers including five hundred Syeds from *Medinah*, *Najaf* and *Karbala*. Such of the soldiers as had survived the slaughter, now a mere remnant, escape somehow or other out of the bloody ambush, and returned to *Chakan* to relate the sad episode to the *Dakhnis* who had kept back.

It is said that some foolish New-comers gave out that as the disaster was entirely due to the rift which existed between them and the *Dakhnis*, they would inform the king that the latter had kept back and left them in the lurch. The *Dakhnis* were much perturbed and forestalled this by writing secretly to *Muhammadabad-Bidar* that the New-comers had entered on a wild project of marching through a dense jungle in spite of their remonstrances and warnings and had therefore brought infamy on the Sultan's name. They also said that after the disaster they had begged them to report the matter to His Majesty but had not done so and had, instead, shut themselves up at *Chakan*, hinting at the same time that perhaps they wished to give themselves up to the chiefs of *Konkan*.

This intimation was sent through two brothers *Salar Hamza Mushiru'l-Mulk* and *Raja Rustam Nizamu'l-Mulk Dakhani* who reported the matter to *Ahmad II* when he was drunk, and he immediately ordered the informant and *Raja Rustam Nizamu'l-Mulk* to make short work of the rebels. Care was taken not to allow any petition of the New-comers

to filter through to Bidar. Mushiru'l-Mulk now besieged the leaderless New-comers in the fort of Chakan while he informed 'Alau'd-din that they had spoken disrespectfully of the Sultan and even tried to cross the border into Gujarat. The Sultan was greatly enraged at this and ordered that every one of them should be done to death.

When the besieged New-comers saw that food was becoming scarce they began to think of leaving their wives and children and making a dash for Bidar in order to inform the king of their plight. The Old-comers, thereupon, had recourse to a terrible ruse. They sent a message to the besieged that they all belonged to the same faith and it was far from their minds to harm them in any manner. At the same time Mashiru'l-Mulk and the rest made their way into the fort and gave out that they had come as friends. On the third day they lured the unfortunate New-comers to their camp by inviting them to a repast and while they were having their dinner, murdered practically all of them, men, women and children "including more than a thousand Syeds from Karbala, Najaf and Madinah."³⁶

Some of the Mughals headed by Qasim Beg Safshikan, however, had already proceeded some distance from the scene of the massacre and had not joined in the terrible party. They now dressed their women in men's garb and having taken them along with them proceeded as fast as possible towards the capital, pursued by a posse of 2,000 horse sent by Mushiru'l-Mulk to capture them. They were fortunate in discovering a friend in Hasan Khan, officer commanding at Bir, who rightly pointed out to Mushiru'l-Mulk's envoy that if the New-comers had been enemies of

the kingdom they would have gone to Gujarat forthwith rather than hurried to the capital.

The party at least reached Bidar and informed the Sultan of the miseries they had suffered. When the king knew the real facts of the case not only from them but also from some members of Shah Ni'matu'l-lah Kirmani's family, he laid an iron hand upon the leaders of the Dakhni party, who had misinformed him of the facts of the situation. He ordered the immediate execution of Mustafa Khan who was in charge of petitions and who had been keeping them back, and had his head paraded in the streets.³⁷ He also sequestered the property of such Old-comers as Mushiru'l-Mulk and Nizamu'l-Mulk and ordered that the Old-comers who were at Chakan should be brought to Muhammadabad-Bidar in chains. He promoted the New-comers to high titles and office, making Qasim Beg, Maliku't-Tujjar and Sarlashkar of Daulatabad in place of his dead chief Khalaf Hasan Basri. The king was so much incensed against the Dakhni party that when he received a long letter in 855/1451 from Shaikh Azari who was then at Khorasan he had many of the prisoners beheaded and deposed others from all offices of honour and responsibility, the most prominent of these being the Prime Minister Mian Minna'l-lah himself.³⁸

TILANGANA AND MALWA

Ahmad was destined to be on the throne for another five years but there are only one or two events of importance which took place during the period. Things seemed to be fairly quiet in Tilangana until the rebellion of his brother-in-law Jalal Khan, grandson of a New-comer, Syed Jalal

Bukhari took place. It was rumoured that the king was dead owing to a malignant wound in the shin from which he had been suffering for a couple of years, and possibly taking advantage of the unpopularity of the heir-apparent, Prince Humayun, Jalal proclaimed himself king at Nalgunda where his jagirs were situated, in 859/-1455. On the approach of the king Jalal shut himself up in the citadel while his son Sikandar Khan hurried to Mahur to seek help from Mahmud *Khilji* who had taken the place of Hoshang *Ghori* as king of Malwa, and told him that 'Alau'd-din Ahmad was dead and beseeching him to come and protect life and property which was in grave danger in the Bahmani state. Mahmud was one of the most ambitious and resourceful kings of his time and was always waiting for opportunities like this. He now allied himself with Mubarak Khan ruler of *Khandesh*, crossed the frontier in 860/1456, and marched to Mahur where he joined hands with Sikandar.

Ahmad II now proceeded to Mahur from Nalgonda with a huge army of 180,000 men. He placed Maliku't-Tujjar Qasim Beg with the army of Daulatabad opposite the Malwese army and the levies of Berar against Mubarak of *Khandesh*, while he himself stood by at the head of the forces of Bijapur at a distance of about eight miles.⁴⁰ When it became known to Mahmud that he had been misinformed about Ahmad's death and had to face a strong army with but fifty thousand men under his command, he ordered a retreat leaving a contingent of a thousand soldiers, outwardly to guard the person of Sikandar Khan but really to see that he did not join hands with the Bahmani Sultan.

In the meantime 'Alau'd-din had made the New-comer

Mahmud Gawan⁴¹ a mansabdar of 1,000 and ordered him to suppress Jalal's insurrection at Nalgonda. The new commander immediately marched to Nalgonda and besieged the citadel. Meanwhile Sikandar had escaped from his virtual imprisonment at the hands of the Malwese. Knowing that his was a lost cause he hastened to Nalgonda and on getting a promise of pardon from Mahmud Gawan, persuaded his father to hand over the citadel to the Bahmani general. All credit is due to the king that in spite of the treasonable conduct of the father and the son he gave both of them the fullest pardon and even restored the Nalgonda jagir to Jalal Khan. This was really the beginning of the policy of political compromises and toleration initiated by Mahmud Gawan, a policy which was carried on so long as he had any say in the political affairs of the kingdom and which proved to be its mainstay and lifeblood for more than a quarter of a century.

In spite of this serious insurrection in the heart of Tilangana, some of the local Reddi chiefs, especially Linga III, went out of their way to "ingratiate the Sultan." They actually defeated a chief, Muddu Dhakka by name, who showed an inclination to go against the Sultan, and scaled the walls of Bhuvandari fort. When Jalal raised the standard of revolt Linga forthwith asked Sikandar to quit Sabbinadu in his jagir where he happened to be at that time. At the same time it should be noticed that apart from Linga, Tilangana was not the only problem for the Bahmanis, for we read that the fort of Bhongir had to be stormed before it could be handed over to Sanjar Khan as sarlashkar of Tilangana.⁴² There seems to have been some show of force on the part of

the Gajapati of Orissa as well. It is known from inscriptions that Kapileshwar was ruling round Bezwada and Kondapalli in 1454 and seems to have extended his sway as far as Kanchi.⁴³ It seems that Sanjar Khan, tried to march to the eastern coast but was reprimanded by the Sultan that it was not as easy matter to fight against a chief "who possessed over two thousand elephants while there were not two hundred in the whole of the Bahmani army." It is possible, however, that some kind of conflict ensued between the Gajapati ruler of Orissa and the Bahmanis in which the Bahmani forces were worsted at the hands of a certain Oriyan commander Rahutanaya who is said to have defeated "two Turuksha princes." We have no further information about this venture.⁴⁴

The king had taken a strenuous part in the last Tilangana campaign and against Malwa. The malignant wound in his shin from which he had been suffering grew worse day by day, hastening his death which took place on 18.5.862/-3.4.1458.⁴⁵

THE KING'S CHARACTER

'Alau'd-din Ahmad had some fine traits in his character. His humane qualities are evident from his treatment of his brothers to all of whom he was kind and considerate. It was, of course, impossible for him to make Prince Muhammad a partner of royalty, but the fact remains that even after the unsuccessful insurrection which he had led by giving his ear to the discontented element and perhaps also to Deva Raya of Vijayanagar, he was treated kindly by the king and granted a comfortable jagir. We also see him

fighting for his throne and kingdom against Mahmud *Khilji* of Malwa who had been invited by *Sikandar Khan*, and when the danger is passed, pardoning the same *Sikandar* and his father *Jalal* at the instance of Mahmud *Gawan*.

Ahmad began his rule well and in the beginning of his reign took an active interest in the affairs of the kingdom. He left no stone unturned to enforce the letter of the law and eradicated gambling, drinking, debauchery and crime by the appointment of learned men as police officer and judges. But it seems that after the second Vijayanagar campaign, he began to lead a life of ease and luxury and he himself began to indulge in wine which he did not give up till 855/-1452. The result was that the high moral tone of his deteriorated and he began to lose all interest in affairs of state. This is amply proved by the sad story of his having ordered the massacre, firstly of the New-comers at Chakan and then of the Dakhnis on receiving a letter from *Shaikh Azari*, showing that he had become prone to lend his ears to any party that might seek it.

Ahmad was well educated by his father and was eloquent to the extent that sometimes he would ascend the pulpit before Friday prayers in the Great Mosque of the capital and deliver an extempore sermon himself. It is related that one Syed 'Ajal,⁴⁶ a dealer in Arab steeds, was present in the Great Mosque on one of these occasions. When during the sermon the king enumerated his own qualities of piety, justice and mercy the horse dealer arose and at the top of his voice said that it was all untrue, and that the king was both cruel and false, for had he not ordered the massacre of thousands of innocent men shut up in the Chakan fort? It

is said that the king was so filled with remorse that he never left his palace after this event, and when he found on enquiry that the man had not been paid for the horses which had been purchased for the royal stables, he ordered every jital to be paid forthwith. In spite of his loose life he remained energetic right up to the end, and his fortitude is shown by the fact that when he undertook the Nalgonda and Mahur campaigns he had a malignant wound and it was partly his *non-chalance* that precipitated death a few months later.

NOTES

1. Ahmad I died on 29.9.839/17.4.1436. His son Ahmad II reigned according to *Fer.*, for 23 years, 9 months and two days and according to Haft Iqlim for 23 years and nine months which bring us to 29.6.863 or 1.7.863. But it is clearly stated in *Bur.*, 88 that his successor Humayun succeeded him on 22.6.862/7.5.1458, and we may take this date as that of the death of Ahmad II, though *Bur.*, 87, says that he died "towards the end of Jamadiu'l-akhir," i.e., a few days before 22.6.862. As a matter of fact Ahmad II must have died definitely before 18.5.862/3.4.1458, as it was on that day that Humayun unseated his brother Hasan Khan.

The name *Ahmad* is found in 'Abdu'r-Razzaq, *Matla'u's-Sa'dain*, Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, IV 121. This is corroborated by his coins which read :

I. Obv.

السلطان الحليم الكريم رؤوف على عباد الله

الغنى المهيمنى

Rev.,

ابوالمظفر علاء الدنيا والدين احمد شاه بن احمد

شاه الولي البهمنى

Margin:

ضرب بحضرة محمد آباد ٨٥٩

II. Obv.,

المعتصم بالله الحنان المنان سمى خليل الرحمن

Rev.,

علاء الدنيا والدين احمد شاه بن احمد شاه السلطان

III. Obv.,

المتوكل على الله الغنى

Rev., احمد شاه بن احمد شاه الولي البهمنى

Speight, *Coins of the Bahmani Kings*, Islamic Culture, 1935, pp. 291, 296, 297. *Tab.*, 118 says that he assumed his father's name, Ahmad, on his accession. Lastly Sakhawai, *Dauul-Lami' X* 144, contemporary, calls Humayun son of Ahmad Shah. The name also occurs over a doorway at Naobad, suburb of Bidar; *Epigr. Indo-Mosl.* 1935-36, p. 35.

2. For details of this as well as of the next episode see § 2 of this chapter.
3. *Hyderabad Archaeological Report*, 1928-29, p. 13 and 1930-31 pt. IX *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* 1927-28, p. 13. Bashiru'din, *Waqi'at-i Mamlukat-i Bijapur*, III, 127 says that the tomb was built in 1086 H., which is obviously incorrect and is due to this date appearing after the Shi'ite Nad-i'Ali which was no doubt added on by the Bijapur officials 150 years after the erection of the structure; see p. 128 of the same work for this Burji 'Ali plaque, *Epigr. Indo-Mosl.* 1931-32, p. 26.
4. It is a pity that no attempt has been made to keep these beautiful tiles in position, and even now a visitor

stands aghast at the vandalism that is being committed by street urchins who have damaged these priceless works of Bahmani taste. The department have taken some pains at preserving the glaze of the beautiful specimens unearthed in the Fort, as is evident from *Rep. Hyd. Arch. Dept.*, 1929-30, pp. 23 and 24, but what is needed is that the tiles which still adorn the facade of Ahmad II's tomb should be protected *in situ*.

5. *Rep. Hyd. Arch. Dept.* 1930-31, p. 4 and pl. VII; Yazdani, *Bidar*, p. 100.
6. See *Bur.*, 77.
7. For the Bidar hospital, *Bur.* 87, *Fer.*, I. 333. for the edifices mentioned see *Rep. Hyd. Arch. Dept.* 1929-30, p. 6; inscription and date, Wolsley Haig, *An Inscription in the Fort of Daulatabad*, *Epig. Indo-Mosl.* 1907-8, where certain far-fetched conclusions are made regarding the date of massacre at Chakan.
8. *Tab.*, 421.
9. 'Abdu'l-Jabbar. *op. cit.*, p. 554, says that he had a copy of this work himself, but it was lost during the floods of the river Musi along with his whole manuscript library.
10. Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi says in his *Tazkiratu'l-Muluk*, fol. 10 b, that Mahmud Gawan arrived in India during the reign of Ahmad I, but this cannot be correct, and all evidence is in favour of his arrival in 856/-1453; see Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan, the Great Bahmani Wazir*, pp. 22 n.3, 26 n.16. Mahmud Gawan was the native of Qawan near Resht in Northern Iran; hence the surname; *Munt.*, III, 105, however, says that he was called Gawan because he had once made his soldiers ride 2,000 cows (*Gawan*) which certain banjaras had been driving, and had thus duped the enemy; but this story has not been corroborated elsewhere, and is, as a matter of fact mentioned in different places about entirely different persons such as Khalaf Hasan Basri, and we need not pay much attention to it. *Taz.*, 10 b, gives interesting details about Mahmud's

arrival at Bidar. He had a letter of introduction from the Bahmani governor of Mustafabad-Dabhol to the Sultan, but the Sultan refused to give audience to a mere merchant. It was only when he had brought round certain royal courtiers to his view that he was admitted to the royal presence. The *Ahwajah* approached the Sultan with numerous presents according to the prevailing custom and had a copy of the Qur'an on his head when he approached him. He soon rose to be a royal favourite. See also Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan*, ch. 1.

11. *Riyazu'l-Insha*, Collection of Mahmud Gawan's letters. The MSS copy I used during the compilation of the book on the great Bahmani wazir was that in the Habibganj Library in the Aligarh District; the work has now been edited by S. C. Husain and very neatly printed in Hyderabad in 1948.
12. Poggio Bracciolini's Narration of the Travels of Niccolo Conti in his work, *Historia di varietate fortune lib. iv*, included in Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, London, 1857, pp. 21-32; quotation from p. 32. Conti was in India in 1444.
13. Syedu's-Sadat Syed Hanif Gilani, died at an advanced age in 900 H. See Inscription on the wall which is named after him; *Waqi'at*, III, 117; also *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, where, however, the writer wrongly says that Gilan is in Turkistan. See also Yazdani, *Bidar*, p. 208.
14. *Bur.*, 75.
15. Apart from this the Raya seems to have taken advantage of the last king's death by seizing Anegundi on the other side of the Tungabhadra, for there is a significant document referred to in Sewell and Aiyangar, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 218, that Deva Raya held that fortress in 1436. This might have been one of the causes of the war; *Fer.*, I. 330. *Bur.* does not mention it at all.
16. *Fer.*, I. 330; *Bur.*, 79. Dr. Venkataramanayya, *Velug.*, Intr. 13, quotes King, *History of the Bahmani Dynasty*

that it was Raichur which was granted to Prince Muhammad ; but I find Rajachal and not Raichur mentioned on p. 73 of King's book which, as he says, is based on *Burhan*. I have followed *Fer.*, but *Bur.*, puts this insurrection down after Sanjar Khan's venture in Tilangana. It seems more natural that Muhammad should demand a share after his signal victory against Vijayanagar.

Sholapur, headquarters of a district in Bombay State, 17°40' N. 75°54' E.

Naldurg, Village in 'Usmanabad district, Hyderabad State ; 17°49' N., 76°29' E.

17. *Tazkirah Salatin-i Dakan*, quoting Tuhfatu's Salatin p. 525.
18. *Fer.*, I, 330-331.
Sangameshwar, in the Ratnagiri District, Bombay Province ; 17°16' N., 73°33' E.
19. Thus in *Fer.*, I, 331. *Bur.* 78, however, puts this down in 839/-1436 which is unlikely as in any case the *Khandesh* campaign must have followed the arrival of Zeba Chahra from Sangameshwar.
20. It was Ahmad Shah of Gujarat (1411-1442) who had given the title of Nasir Khan to him ; *Fer.*, II, 277 ; Commissariat, *History of Gujarat I*, 205. Raja of Gondwana, *Fer.*, I, 331. Nasir Khan Ruler of *Khandesh* 1399-1437. There is no mention of Malika-i Jahan herself going to her father as in *Tazkirah*, 532.
21. *Fer.*, I, 331. *Bur.* 77, says that all officers present declined to proceed to the North and only *Khalaf Hasan* offered his services. But as *Fer.*, given the names of so many who did accompany *Khalaf Hasan*, his version seems to be more reliable.
22. *Mehkar*, in the Buldana District, Berar ; 20°10', 76°37' E.

Burhanpur, now a taluqa in Nimar district, Madhya Pradesh, 21°20' N., 76°18' E.

The description is according to *Fer.*, I, 331, 332 and *Munt.*, III, 77. *Bur.*, 78, however says that he went as far as Asir. *Hafz Iqlim* of Amin Razi, Risala

- Tarikh, Hyderabad, 1929, pp. 49 ff., agrees with Burhan.
23. Thus in *Fer.*, I, 332; *Fer.*, has on II, 280, that only twenty elephants were left behind.
Nandurbar, headquarters of a taluqa in West *Khandesh* district, Bombay Province; $21^{\circ}22'N.$ $74^{\circ}44'E.$
Fathabad-Laling, hill fort in West *Khandesh* district Bombay Province; $20^{\circ}49'N.$, $74^{\circ}45'E.$
 24. *Fer.*, II, 277, 280. Nasir died on 3.3.841/4.9.1437.
 25. *Fer.*, I, 332.
 26. Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, II, 230-232.
 27. This was when 'Abdu'r-Razzaq, the ambassador of Hirat to the Vijayanagar court was at Calicut between these two dates; see Elliott and Dowson, *op. cit.*, IV, 115. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 72. The sequence of events related by me seems to be the only solution of the different versions.
 28. Danaik-Dhannayaka or Commander; Sewell, 75. Abdu'r Razzaq translates Danaik as Diwan; see Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, IV 108, 121.
 29. The name is remarkable as it is the only instance of a recent arrival from Delhi holding a high post in the Bahmani state. Of course the dynasty itself and all the Old-comers really came from Delhi but they were now called "Dakhnis" *par excellence*. It should be noted that those captured by Deva Raya did not include Maliku't-Tujjar as wrongly mentioned by Sewell and Aiyangar, p. 220.
 30. *Fer.*, I, 332; *Munt.*, III, 87; *Bur.*, 79 is rather confused with regard to this campaign and says that it was undertaken in 739/1339 and lasted two years, ending in the capture of Chandan, Mandan and Satara by the Bahmanis. With 'Abdu'r-Razzaq's definite testimony, the sequence adopted by me seems to be the only plausible one. See Sewell and Aiyangar, 220.
Satara, headquarters of a district in Bombay Province, $17^{\circ}41'N.$ $74^{\circ}E.$

31. Sewell and Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, 220 (referring to E. C. i. Sr. Bel. 125; I. A. xxv, 1896, p. 346.) The date is not 1444 as in *Sewell*, 79.
32. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, 287.
 Kapileshwar or Kapilendra Deva was one of the most ambitious rulers Orissa ever had, and governed that land from 1434 to 1470. See *Kalinga Charitra*, Andhra Research Association, Art. by Ramdas Pantulu on the *Chronology of the Orissa Kings*, p. 645. Dr. Sreenivasachar, in his article on the Relations between Kapilendra and the Bahmanis, *Hyd. Arch. Dept. Report*, 1934-35, p. 30, refers to the Oriya work *Madala Panji* which says that Bahmanis aided Kapilendra to usurp the Oriya throne, but as both the states were intent on expansion in the same part of the country they eventually came into conflict. This is referred to by Banerji, 303, who quotes M. Chakravarti's paper in *J. A. S. B.* lxi, 1900, pt. I, p. 180. *Banerji*, 294 disbelieves in any alliance between Orissa and the Deccan, but gives no reasons. We are fully aware that Kapileshwar proved to be a deadly enemy of Vijayanagar and there is every reason why he should first have joined hands with the Sultan, and when he felt strong enough to act singlehanded, first against Vijayanagar and then against the Bahmanis themselves.
33. Sewell and Aiyangar, wrongly say on p. 221 that the Sultan was Muhammad III. The notice of this campaign is based on the Sanskrit drama, *Gangadasa-pratapavilasam*; see Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 5 and 65. Sewell and Aiyangar say, however, that further corroboration is needed before anything definite can be said about it.
34. Thus in *Bur.*, 82. *Fer.*, I, 334 says that he was forced to embrace Islam, but this is not probable as (i) we do not come across a single case of force being used to propagate the Faith in the Deccan before this, and (ii) if Khalaf Hasan really forced him to change his religion against his will, he could not possibly have

put any reliance on him immediately after. Bombay Gazetteer, XXIV, 323 calls the chief Shankar Rao, which is not improbable. and Vol. XXIV, 224 calls the family Shirke, a common surname among the Marathas.

35. Names in *Bur.* 83; their relationship, *Munt.* III, 82. "Hindu and Muslim Forces", *Bur.* 83.
36. *Fer.* III. 334-336. He is talking nonsense when he says that five or six thousand children were killed besides active soldiers "all from one to a hundred years old", especially as there was only 3,000 Arab cavalry which was sent in the first instance. *Taz.*, 544, quotes Tuhfatu's-Salatin that no women or child was killed. We must remember that the accounts of the unfortunate affair are all from the pen of descendants of 'New-comers.'
37. *Munt.* III, 85.
38. The whole narrative of the affair is inordinately long both in Feritshah and Burhan. Deposition of Miyan Mina'l-lah, *Munt.* III, 85.
39. For a short account of Mahmud *Khilji's* ambitions and exploits see *Mahmud Gawan*, II, 12; also Amir Ahmad 'Alawi *Shahan-i-Malwa*.
Nalgunda, headquarters of the district of that name in Hyderabad State 17°03' N., 79°16' E.
Hoshang Ghori, King of Malwa, 1406-1435.
Muhammad Ghori, King of Malwa, 1435-1436.
Mahmud Khilji, King of Malwa, 1436-1479.
 There is no evidence that Prince Muhammad was implicated in the insurrection as suggested by Dr. Venkataramanayya, *Velug.*, Intr. 39.
40. *Bur.*, 86.
41. See above, note 10.
42. *Velug.*, Intr. 39. The centre of the rebellion was Nalgunda not Balkonda. *Fer.* 338 is specific on that point.
Balkonda, in Nizamabad district, Hyderabad State, 18°53' N., 78°21' E., is far too much in the North-west to be the "centre" of Tilangana.

For Sanjar Khan see *Bur.* 76.

43. Gurti Venkata Rao, *Bahmani-Vijayanagar Relations*, Allahabad History Congress Transactions, 274, quoting Aiyangar, *A little known Chapter of Vijayanagar History*. Also, inscription on the temple at Jagannath at Puri dated 12. 4. 1450 where reference is made to the victory by Kapilendra over "Malika Parisa" (Malik Padshah); *J. A. S. B.* 1893, p. 90 referred to by Dr. Sreenivasachar, *Rept. Hyd. Arch. Dept.* 1934-35, p. 20. It is probably this which Dr. Venkataramanayya reads it "Malika Polarjuna" whom he considers a local chief; see *Velug. Intr.* P. 35. Also see *Bur.* 77. For the conquests of Kapilleshwar in South India see Banerji, 293, 294, where he disbelieves in Gangadasapratapavilasam altogether.
44. *Sewell and Aiyangar*, 122; *Banerji*, 291-292; *Bur.* 76. The references to this episode are very obscure, and nothing seems certain. It should be noticed that in the next reign Kapilleshwar sided with the rebels, so, although in the Burhan it precedes even the first *Khandesh* expedition, it must have occurred in the reign of 'Alau'd-din Ahmad.
45. See Note 1.
46. Name from *Bur.* 87; rest of the story mainly from *Fer.* 1. 338. This reminds us of the famous episode of the Caliph 'Umar and the old woman.

CHAPTER 9

A NEW POLICY OF COMPROMISE

'ALAU'D-DIN HUMAYUN SHAH

7-5-1458—4-9-1461.

HUMAYUN'S ACCESSION

As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, Ahmad II had appointed his eldest son Humayun heir to the throne in preference to his other sons Hasan *Khan* and Yahya *Khan*. It is said that Humayun was harsh of temper and there was so much consternation among the nobles on his accession that some of them like Raja Rustam Nizamu'l-Mulk and his son, who had become Maliku't-Tujjar after the death of Qazim Beg Safshikan, fled from the country and took refuge in Gujarat,² while others like Shah Habibu'l-lah, Mallu *Khan* and other amirs proclaimed the king's younger brother Hasan *Khan* as King and seated him on the Turquoise Throne. On seeing the trend of events, the rabble in the streets took advantage of this and collected in front of Humayun's residence in order to plunder it and even to put him to death. Humayun was supported by his brother-in-law Shah Muhibbu'l-lah, the younger brother of Shah Habibu'l-lah, who had preferred a religious life to the life of a courtier by becoming the Sajjadah-nashin or spiritual successor of his

father Shah *Khalilu'lah*. The fact that a holy man like *Muhibbu'l-lah* was siding with Humayun, must have given the latter a moral preponderance which Hasan lacked. It is related how with but eighty men by his elbow he fought through the crowd, marched to the throne room of the palace, slapped Hasan on the face, unseated him and himself ascended the throne, putting Hasan, *Habibu'l-lah* and their partners in prison. This happened on 18.5.862/3.4.1458.³

Thanks to *Burhan-i Ma'asir* we possess the actual words of the speech delivered by Humayun immediately after his accession, a speech which goes to show the high ideals he entertained for a Bahmani minister. He said:

"Nobles of my kingdom! I am confident that it is impossible to carry on the government of kingdom efficiently without the appointment of a minister who should be well-known the world over and who should excel in wisdom among the Arabs as well as the 'Ajamis. We are on the threshold of a new epoch in the history of this country and I cannot do better than follow the advice of one who should be clothed with the outward attributes of truth and good faith and who should inwardly be free from vices and vanity. I have therefore made up my mind to appoint *Khwaja Najmu'd-din Mahmud Gilani*, one of the best known in the state for his sense of justice and equity as well as for his deep thought, to be my Chief Minister."

The king thereupon presented the *Khwaja Mahmud Gawan* with robes fitting the occasion including a golden cap and a golden belt, and made him *Maliku't-Tujjar*, *tarafdar* of Bijapur and *Wakil-i Saltanat*, giving him full control of military matters.⁴

SIKANDAR'S REBELLION

As a matter of fact Humayun was acting only according to the last wishes of the late king. At the same time he created Malik Shah, reputed to be a prince of the House of Changiz, *Khwaja-i Jahan*, and appointed him *tarafdar* of Tilangana, and his own cousin and erstwhile playmate, Sikandar Khan, who must have again become a favourite in court circles after his rebellion and pardon by the late king, *sipah salar* of the same province.⁵ Evidently Sikandar was not satisfied by this appointment and went to his father, Jalal Khan, who still held jagirs at Nalgunda, and persuaded him to join hands with him against the Sultan once again. He was feeling his strength all the more as he had been successful in persuading the Velamas to side with him this time. The king heard of the rebellion when the rebels were actually advancing towards Golconda,⁶ and sent *Khwaja-i Jahan* to quell it, but as *Khwaja-i Jahan* was not successful in the attempt, he himself moved to Nalgunda. It is characteristic of Humayun's demeanour in the early part of his reign that, instead of fighting with the rebels and defeating them, he definitely followed a policy of understanding even with his deadly enemies and expressed a desire to make peace with them. But Sikandar, instead of accepting the offer, attacked the royal camp in the middle of the night, and the next day engaged the royal troops with forces composed of "Afghans, Rajputs and the dakhnis."⁷ Even now the king was forbearing for he actually sent word to his enemies that it was a pity that the flower of the Deccan should be so ruined, and that he forgave everything Sikandar had done, offering him any pargana he liked in the province of Daulatabad. On

this the haughty Sikandar replied that the only difference between Humayun and himself was that Humayun was the paternal and he the maternal grandson of Ahmad Shah Wali, and it would be well if he partitioned the kingdom and at least gave him the province of Tilangana in its entirety. It was only after this that the king seriously offered battle. The fighting raged the whole day without a break. When evening came it was still undecided, and as a matter of fact it seemed quite possible that the day might end in Humayun's defeat and Sikandar's accession to the throne.⁸ Suddenly Maliku't-Tujjar (Mahmud Gawan) and *Khwaja-i Jahan Turk*⁹ appeared on the horizon and immediately began their attack from the right and left flanks respectively. This was a great relief to the tired royal army and Humayun was able to send five hundred picked archers and as many lancers with a mad elephant right into the hard-pressed lines of the enemy. In the thick of the battle Sikandar fell from his horse and was trampled to death, and the rout of his army was complete.¹⁰

Jalal Khan now took refuge in the Nalgunda fort which was now besieged by Maliku't-Tujjar and *Khwaja-i Jahan*. Instead of fighting, however, Jalal begged the besiegers to intercede with the king on his behalf to spare his life and accept the treasures accumulated during forty five years of his residence in the kingdom. The king accepted the conditions, and was content with putting him in prison in spite of his repeatedly treasonable conduct.¹¹

TILANGANA AND ORISSA

During this campaign the chiefs of Tilangana, specially

Linga ruler of the Velamas, had sided with the rebels and Humayun now resolved to reduce them once and for all.¹² Linga's stubborn opposition was of no avail and the Bahmani army was able to reach the great stronghold of Dewarkonda. The king ordered *Khwaja-i Jahan Turk* and *Nizamu'l-Mulk* with twenty thousand horse and forty elephants to besiege the fortress. Linga now realised that it was impossible to hold Dewarkonda long without external help and appealed to *Kapileshwar*, the Raja of Orissa, as well as other rulers of Tilangana for help.¹³ *Kapileshwar* was one of the most ambitious rulers in the whole history of Orissa and had already extended his sway over coastal Tilangana including *Rajahmundri* and *Kondavidu*. He had won battles against the *Raya* of *Vijayanagar* and now thought it was a good opportunity to establish his suzerainty over Bahmani Tilangana as well, especially as he was offered a large tribute by the Velamas if he should extricate them from the straits in which they had been placed.

Before help could arrive from Orissa, there was a council of war in the Bahmani camp, and *Nizamu'l-Mulk Ghorī* advised *Khwaja-i Jahan Turk* to draw the defenders out of the fortress on to the open ground and engage them in a hand to hand fight. *Khwaja-i Jahan* did not agree to this and said that such a step would be regarded as a sign of weakness and that it would be better to continue the siege. *Kapileshwar* sent *Hamvira* to Linga's help and when he arrived at Dewarkonda Linga sallied out of the fort with his army so that the Bahmani forces were hemmed in between the Orissans and the defenders and defeated with the loss of many thousand men.¹⁴ *Kapileshwar* now ordered

Hamvira to proceed to Warangal which was captured on 22.2.1460, while Linga marched to Rajachal, which had been given to Prince Muhammad by the late king, captured it and made it his capital. Humayun was marching towards Dewarkonda himself when he was met by *Khwaja-i Jahan* sixty miles from the fortress¹⁵ and he gave him to understand that it was really *Nizamu'l-Mulk* who was responsible for the defeat. The king was so angry at the latter's conduct that the Amir had to fly for his life along with the members of his family over the border to Malwa.¹⁶

HASAN KHAN'S REBELLION

While he was away from the capital, Humayun heard that Yusuf Turk had released Prince Hasan Khan, Habibu'l-lah and thousands of others who had been implicated in the plot against his throne and person in the beginning of his reign and had been kept in the state prison at Bidar. The king thereupon left Mahmud Gawan in charge of the affairs in Tilangana and himself left for the capital immediately where he arrived in Jamad, I, 864/-March, 1460.¹⁷ It is related that Yusuf had first of all got together seven disciples of Habibu'l-lah and sought admission to enter the prison by showing a forged farman of the king that such and such prisoners should be blinded. He passed the first barrier but the warder in charge of the second demanded an order of the Kotwal as well, so Yusuf made short work of him by striking him dead. There was a hue and cry but before anything could be done he had released Hasan Khan, Yahya Khan, the 80-year-old Jalal Khan and nearly seven thousand others including "many Syeds, learned men and men of piety."¹⁸

In the fray between the Kotwal's men and these released prisoners and their supporters, Jalal Khan and Yahya Khan were killed, while Hasan and Habibu'l-lah first took refuge in the house of a barber who had once been in the latter's employ, and then, disguised as mendicants, treaded their way to Bir where Habibu'l-lah's jagirs lay. On arriving at Bir, Hasan proclaimed himself King and appointed Yusuf Turk amiru'l-umara and Habibu'l-lah Wazir.¹⁹ But Hasan's kingship could not last very long as he was at length defeated by the royal army and the pretender as well as his minister had to fly towards Vijayanagar. On the way they were outwardly welcomed by the Vice-Governor of Bijapur, Siraj Khan Junaiddi, who, however, took measures to imprison them while they were fully in his grasp. In the scuffle Habibu'l-lah lost his life while Hasan was sent to Bidar in chains.

Hasan and his party arrived at the capital in Sha'ban 864/-June 1460, and it is related that Humayun gave vent to all his cruel propensities in meeting out dire punishment to those who had tried to betray him and end his life. He had Hasan thrown before tigers, ordered some of his adherents to be cast into cauldrons full of boiling water and oil and released mad elephants and other wild beasts to prey upon the unfortunate victims. He is also said to have put to death all those who had even the most distant claim to the throne as well as many nobles who were supposed to have had the slightest cause of opposition to him.²⁰ This tragic episode came to an end with the promotion of a number of Dakhni converts, one of whom was Malik Hasan Bahri, the progenitor of the Nizamshahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar, who was now

given the title of *Sarang Khan*.²¹

Humayun died, or was killed by a maid-servant while he was asleep, on 28.11.865/1.9.1461.²²

HUMAYUN'S CHARACTER

Humayun's character is one of the enigmas of the history of the Deccan. Ferishtah paints him in the blackest of colours possible ascribing to him the most heinous of crimes. He gives him the sobriquet of 'the Cruel' without any reserve and tries to give evidence to prove his thesis. To quote his translator and epitomiser: "Humayun threw off all restraint and seized at will the children of his subjects, tearing them from their parents. He would frequently stop nuptial processions in the streets, seizing the bride to enjoy her, and then send her to the bridegroom's house. He was in the habit of putting the females of his own house to death for the most trivial offences, and when any of the nobility was obliged to attend him, so great was their dread that they took leave of their families, as if preparing for death."²³ Burhan is no doubt moderate of tone but still gives a few instances of his cruelty and agrees with Ferishtah that people were so tired of his tyranny that the poet Naziri only voiced their feeling when he composed the following chronogram:-

همایون شاه مرد ورست عالم تعالے الله زھے مرگ همايون
جهان پر ذوق شد تاريخ قوتش هم از ذوق جهان آريد بيرون²⁴

865

It is absolutely necessary for one who tries to estimate the real character of a historical personage to try to put himself in the surroundings in which that personage lived so as to

find his bearings as objectively as possible. Humayun reigned less than three years and a half, and the first thing to remember is that there was not a single campaign of aggression against his neighbours during the period. This only goes to prove that, like his predecessor, Muhammad I, his object was to find time to consolidate his far-flung State rather than extend it to unmanageable boundaries. This view is supported by the high ideals of government which he enunciated in the address delivered at the time of his accession. Nevertheless his reign was marred by almost continuous rebellions and attempts at his throne and his life, and this at the hands of those nearest and dearest to him. Practically the whole course of these episodes shows that he followed the new policy of compromise and was forgiving and complacent right up to the middle of 864/1460, and whatever cruelties are ascribed to him could only have occurred between Sha'ban 864/June 1460 and 28.11.865/4.9.1461. His father had appointed him heir to the throne, still the party which was in power since Shaikh Azari's letter to Ahmad II, i.e. the New-comers, put his younger brother on the throne and perhaps actually sent a mob to murder him and rob his residence. Instead of laying his hand of vengeance on his deadly enemies he contented himself by imprisoning the leaders and the mob which had supported him. We meet him next fighting against his kinsmen Sikander Khan and Jalal Khan at Nalgunda where, while carrying on the struggle which might have meant his own end, he enters into pourparlers with them and frankly says that he would prefer peace to war. Even when fighting had gone on for a whole day, he made a definite offer of jagirs to Sikandar. And after Sikandar's death and

Jalal's defeat the miracle happens and on Maliku't-Tujjar's intercession Jalal is spared of his life.

All this does not depict Humayun in the colours of a wanton cut-throat, and there is nothing during the first two years of his reign to warrant his condemnation. It is really after the second proclamation of Hasan Khan as king, this time at Bir, and his subsequent capture sometime about the middle of 864/1460, that Humayun is said to have given vent to his cruel propensities. We must remember that the two struggles with Hasan were a matter of life and death for the king. It is absolutely clear that the party of New-comers which had got the upper hand in the reigns of Ahmad I and Ahmad II was so headstrong that it chose to put on the throne a puppet in Hasan Khan in preference to a strong-willed ruler like Humayun. It is noticeable that the six or seven thousand men who were imprisoned after the failure of the first attempt are described by Ferishtah in almost the identical vocabulary as used for those who had been massacred at Chakan in 850/1447. Jalal, the father of Sikandar, both arch rebels in Humayun's reign, was a New-comer and it seems probable that up to 864/1460 Humayun had thought that he would be able to make some kind of compromise with this party and perhaps forestall the moderating policy later adopted by Mahmud Gawan. The eye-opener came in the form of the recrudescence of disorder by the forced release of Hasan Khan and his followers by another New-comer, Yusuf Turk, and the renewal of the life and death struggle. Humayun could not let matters go on like this, and during the last thirteen months of his short reign he subjected his enemies, to exemplary punishment. It

goes to Mahmud Gawan's credit that while he interfered so long as he had any hope of a compromise, he retired to the background when all hopes were evidently shattered by the release of Hasan Khan and his supporters and by his second proclamation as king in 864/1460.

There is further evidence for the support of Old-comers and the native element from an unexpected quarter. The poet Naziri, whose caustic chronogram of Humayun's death has already been quoted, and who was one of the prisoners released by Yusuf Turk along with Prince Hasan, composed the following lines while still in prison:

گردون خذف از بیضه گوهر نشاخت
 طاؤس و همائے از کبوتر نشاخت
 شکر شکنی چو بنده از طوق کشید
 از فاخته طوطی سخنور نشاخت²⁵

These lines clearly show that Humayun was trying to hold the balance between the Old-comers and the New-comers and was thus furthering a policy which was quite different from that pursued by his father and grand-father. It is no wonder, therefore, that a poet who should have a standing complaint against the king should be delighted at his death and write a chronogram expressing his delight, and that those who sympathised with the New-comers like Ferishtah and the author of *Burhan-i Ma'asir* should give exaggerated accounts of the methods pursued by Humayun to maintain law and order in the country. The epithet of 'the Cruel' which has regularly been affixed to Humayun's name since Ferishtah, and the propaganda which has been going on

against him ever since his death have worked so much on the public imagination that no one knows him now except with the title of *Zalim* or the Cruel attached to his name. The influence of this propaganda is manifested by the fact that the destruction of the dome of his tomb at Bidar has recently been attributed by the credulous public to his diabolical acts of cruelty, while as a matter of fact the dome was destroyed by lightning as recently as 1300/1882 i.e., more than four hundred years after his death!²⁶

If we refer to the collection of Mahmud Gawan's letters, the *Riyazu'l-Insha*, we would find that his opinion of Humayun's character is directly opposed to that of Ferish-tah. Writing about Humayun he says that "every one present or absent knows that the neck of the courage of this friend has no mark of obligation except those of the kindness and goodness of His late Majesty Sultan Humayun Shah of the equipage of Jamshid and kindness as plain as the sun itself. May God keep his grave cool".²⁷ In another place he says 'to a relation' that "the nightingale of my tongue is ever singing the praises of the flower of that royal garden,"²⁸ and appends a *qasidah* of 38 lines to the same letter in honour of Humayun, some lines of which might be quoted here with advantage:—

عینِ عمرم کز غبار غربت و غم بود تار
شد کنون روشن ز کحل خاکپائے شهر یار
شه همایون شاه بهمن اصل دارائی که هست
عقل کل را خاطرش در کنه اشیا مستعار

گرنسیم خلق تو بر سطح دریا بگذرد
 ماهیان در قعر بحر آیند یکسر مشکبار
 بنده را حالست کان از خضرت نتوان نهفت
 از سر لطف و کرم یک لحظ حالم گوش دار
 علت غائی ز هندم نیست الا خاک پات
 ورنه از آب بقا در ظلمت آبادم چه کار
 این زمانم یک مراد است از تو اے کان کرم
 گر نشد آن حاصل از تو جان کند از تن فرار
 گوشه خواهم که کردم منزوی از کل کون
 وانگهی آرم بخاک کوئے وحدت افتخار
 قصر قدرت باد در رفعت بجد کاندرو
 پرده باشد سمان کیوان هند و برده دار

Nothing could breathe the sense of loyalty and homage to the king more than these lines and nothing could demonstrate the great regard which a contemporary of Gawan's standing had for Humayun. We must further remember that these lines are from the pen of one whose frankness and sometimes even bitterness are plainly seen in some of the letters he wrote later to the royal ministers from the battle fields and who gave ample proofs of his great love of right and justice. Further evidence of the impression Humayun created on Mahmud's mind is found in a letter he wrote to the Sultan of Gilan in which he says: "The pigeon of the life of this slave has on its neck the marks of the kindness and instruction at the hands of the late Sultan Humayun Shah, and the stability of the present along with hope for

the future was the direct outcome of the goodness and regard of His Majesty.³⁰ He remembers his late patron even in the last moments of his life when, with the sword of Democles hanging over his head, he protests that his beard had grown grey in the service of Humayun Shah.³² If we had nothing else in our possession, the dicta of a statesman of Mahmud Gawans's status, who was himself a 'New-comer' and thus belonged to the same factional alignment as Ferishtah and Syed 'Ali Tabataba author of *Burhan-i Ma'asir*, it would be enough to absolve Humayun of a large number of the charges of inhuman behaviour which have tarnished his name.

It is therefore clear that the picture of Humayun's character as painted by our Persian authorities and in particular by Ferishtah³¹ has exaggerated the king's defects to such an extent that it is difficult to recognise the real man among the multitude of crimes laid to his charge. Both from the recorded occurrences of his short reign as well as from other sources, we must come to the conclusion that Humayun was a ruler of the ordinary Bahmani type but was at the same time a strict disciplinarian, intent on striking a balance between the Old-comers and the New-comers and the original inhabitants of the land while trying to keep the kingdom in peace as far as possible. It is remarkable that there is not a single campaign undertaken outside the frontiers of the kingdom right through his reign, which shows that he wanted to consolidate the state rather than be aggressive towards others. But internal turmoil cost him all his praiseworthy projects, and, thanks to intense propaganda carried on against him, even his reputation.

NOTES

1. Humayun's father, Ahmad II, died on 22.6.862 (see ch. 9. n. 1.) If we accept *Fer.*'s and *Zaf.*'s version as correct he himself reigned for three years, 6 months and 5 days, which would bring us to 28.12.865; *Bur.*'s "6 months and 5 days" is an obvious mistake or misprint. But all our three authorities, *Fer.*, *Bur.* and *Zaf.* are practically unanimous that Humayun died on 27 or 28.11.865/3 or 4.9.1461, and we may take one of these dates as correct.

There is a curious coin in the Hyderabad Museum with Humayun's name and 866 (not 966 as in *Hyd. Arch. Report*, 1931-33, p. 67), but this may well be one of the vagaries of Deccan numismatics, for which see Speight, *Isl. Cul.*, 1935, p. 307; this particular type is mentioned on p. 299.

Humayun's accession name, 'Alau'd-din, is evident from his coins which read on the reverse :

See Speight, *Isl. Cul.*, 1935, p. 298.

علاء الدنيا والدين همايون شاه بن احمد شاه الولي
البهمي

2. *Fer.*, I, 339; *Bur.* 88.
3. *Bur.*, 88; Mallu fled towards Karnatak; *Fer.* I, 339.
4. *Bur.*, 89. Mahmud's name is mentioned here as Najmu'd-din but this name is not found in other authorities, which call him 'Imadu'd-din. "Full control", *Tab.* 433.
5. *Fer.*, I, 339.
6. *Bur.*, 90; *Velug.* Intr. 43.
7. *Fer.*, I, 340. The inclusion of the Rajputs in Sikan-dar's forces is remarkable.
8. *Fer.*, I, 340.
9. The epithet 'Turk' is applied to the title of Malik Shah in contradistinction to Mahmud Gawan who was created *Khwaja-i Jahan* on Malik Shah's death.
10. *Tab.*, 433.
11. This was the second time that Mahmud Gawan had shown his mettle in the field of war and after van-

quishing the enemy successfully interceded with the king in favour of the vanquished.

12. *Fer.* I. 340. For the part played by Linga and other Telugu chiefs in the affair, see *Velug.* Intro. pp. 41, 42.
13. An inscription at Jagannath temple speaks of Kapileshwar as a lion to the sheep of the Karnatak king, and as being "victorious over Kalabarga"; S. K. Aiyangar, *A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History*, p. 9, quoted by G. V. Rao, *Bahmani-Vijayanagar Relations*, Indian History Congress, Allahabad, 1938, p. 274. The Rayas of Oriya, so often mentioned in our Persian authorities, were rulers of the "small principalities between Warangal and Rajahmundry" and are said to have caused no small trouble to the Bahmanis. See K. Isvara Dutta's article on "*The Wars of Vijayanagar against Kalinga Desa*", *Kalingadesa Charitra*, Andhra Research Association, 1930, p. 360. Also see *Velug.* for detail. Banerji, *History of Orissa*. I. 292, 293.
14. *Khammamet*, headquarters of a taluqa in Warangal districts, Hyderabad State, 17°15' N., 80°11' E. The Velamas of Dewarkonda disappear from history after Linga; *Velug.* Intro., 43. For capture of Warangal see *Rep. Hyderabad Arch. Dept.*, 1344 F., p. 29, where Dr. Sreenivasachar has relied for this on an inscription on the southern gate of Warangal fort. The rout at Dewarkonda, 864/-1460, must have negatively enhanced Mahmud Gawan's estimation in the eyes of the king. While he had been successful in quelling two major rebellions of those who wanted to dethrone Ahmad II and Humayun the solitary expedition against a confederacy of the Telugu rayas undertaken by *Khwaja-i Jahan* had proved a failure. We might compare this state of affairs with that of France of 1799 when, in the absence of Bonaparte in the East, the French armies were beaten by the Austrians at Stockach and by the Russians at Novi and were driven out of the Italian soil. This

enhanced Bonaparte's reputation tenfold and paved the way for his installation as the First Consul a few months later.

15. Twenty farsakh. *Tab.* 423 has eight kroh which seems unlikely. One farsakh = 18,000 yards; Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*.
16. Thus in *Fer.* 340. *Bur.* 92 has the story of Nizamu'l-Mulk's execution. I am, however, inclined to prefer the fact of his flight particularly as no one else is mentioned as having led the members of the family over the border. Moreover the king had not shown any tendency to destroy families for the sins of their chiefs. Further *Bur.* 98 definitely mentions Nizamu'l-Mulk in connection with Mahmud Khilji's campaign in the next reign.
17. *Fer.* I. 342.
18. *Bur.* 93. The names of the released and of the leaders of the released as well as this interesting item all show that the coup d'etat was engineered solely on the part of the New-comers or afaqis.
19. *Fer.* I. 342.
20. All this is from *Fer.* I. 343; *Bur.* does not go to these lengths.
21. *Bur.* 95. It is remarkable that this is the first mention in Deccan history of any converts of note.
22. Both these stories are mentioned as alternatives in *Fer.*, but *Bur.* does not refer to the possibility of murder. I am inclined to believe that Humayun died a natural death because the motive of murder—harsh treatment—seems slender. *Fer.* I. 343 says that while in the pangs of death the king ordered that Mahmud Gawan should be recalled from the East and appointed Wazir of the kingdom.
23. *Briggs, op. cit.*, II. 464.
24. *Bur.* 95; *Fer.* I. 344.
 "Humayun Shah is dead, and the world is cleansed thereby;
 God be the most High; what an auspicious death!

"The world was full of Joy on the date of his death,
So extract the date from the *Joy of the World*."

Zafaru'l Walih I. 166, gives a slightly different version.

25. *Bur.* 95.

"Heaven did not make a difference between the
Pearl and the Potsherd,

Nor between the Peacock and the Pigeon !

"A collar has been put round the neck of one like
myself,

And no difference is made between the sweet-voiced
parrot and a mere dove!"

26. This destruction by lightning is described by an eye-witness, Maulana Bashiru'd-din who was then posted at Bidar as a high Hyderabad official, in his Urdu work, *Waqi'at-i Mamlukat-i Bijapur*, III, 127. The interesting part of the story is this that there is another tomb, that of Muhammad III, the roof of which has similarly fallen in, and if Humayun's tomb may be said to have been destroyed by Divine Providence owing to his cruelty, Muhammad III's tomb may be said to have been destroyed owing to Mahmud Gawan's murder at his instance !!

27. Mahmud Gawan, *Riyazu'l-Insha*, Hyderabad Edition, 1948; No. 49, p. 187

28. *Ibid.*, 145, p. 399

29. *Ibid.*, The lines might be rendered freely thus :—

"The Vista of my life which had become pitch dark,
Acquired fresh brightness by the antimony of the dust
of His Majesty's feet.

"His Majesty Humayun Shah Bahman, the quintessence of royalty,

Is such that the realities of his thought are hidden
even from the Angel Gabriel.

"If the zephyr of thy amiability and civility were to
pass on the surface of the waters,

The fishes of the depth of the Seas would at once
give out the fragrance of musk itself.

"The state of my most humble affairs is such that it cannot remain hidden from Your Majesty,
So I would beg you to lend me your ears, even for an instant, through all the goodness and kindness that you possess.

"The sole *raison d'être* of my being in this land of Ind is the desire to touch the dust of thy feet,
Otherwise without such life-giving drops my life would become entirely purposeless.

"At this hour of need I have but one request to make of thee, the mine of kindness,
And if this is not granted then my soul is sure to fly away from my terrestrial being.

"I beseech thee to grant me a small corner where I should be able to cut off all connection with the created world,
And where I should be proud of having the honour of touching the sill of thy sublime abode.

"I pray the Almighty that the palace of thy Honour be so lofty that in it
Curtain should be the very skies and its guardian the awe-inspiring Saturn himself."

30. Riyaz, 21, p. 102. Fer. I. 358.

CHAPTER 10

THE RULE OF THE REGENCY

NIZAMU'D-DIN AHMAD III.

4.9.1461—30.7.1463

COUNCIL OF REGENCY

On Humayun's death his son Ahmad succeeded to the throne as Nizamu'd-din Ahmad III¹ at the age of eight.² He was escorted to the Turquoise Throne by Shah Muhibu'llah holding his right hand and Syed Sharif, son of Syedu's-Sadat Syed Hanif, holding his left. It seems that the late king, who was a good judge of men and their worth, showed his foresight by nominating a Council of Regency consisting of *Khwaja-i Jahan Turk* and *Maliku't-tujjar Mahmud Gawan* with the Dowager Queen *Makhduma-i Jahan Nargis Begam* having a casting vote.³ Immediately on the accession of the new king, Mahmud Gawan was appointed *Jumlatu'l-Mulk*, *Wazir-i-Kul* and *Tarafdar* of Bijapur, while *Khwaja-i Jahan Turk* was named *Wakil* and *Tarafdar* of Tilangana. Every day when the king sat on the throne he was attended by *Khwaja-i Jahan* on his right and *Maliku't-tujjar* on his left, and matters of state were carried on by these two counsellors with the Queen through a trusted lady by the name of Mah Banu. As a matter of fact the master mind which ruled the

country during the short reign of Ahmad III was that of this great Queen, one of the most sagacious women India has produced. It is no small credit to her that she successfully presided over the triumvirate consisting, besides her, of two of the ablest men in the whole history of the Deccan.

INTERNAL APPEASEMENT

The reign began with a general amnesty to those who had been imprisoned by Humayun for political offences or violent factional leanings, a measure the credit for which is mainly due to the chief Minister, Maliku't-tujjar Mahmud Gawan.⁴ The Regency, moreover, continued the patronage of those eminent in the field of learning or service of the State as well as of those prominent in the aristocracy of the kingdom.⁵ These measures, so well intended to improve matters were, however, of no avail. Some of the officers, especially those appointed to far off provinces, thought that it was a mere boy who was on the throne and so tried to make things uncomfortable for the Regency, but the Government was equal to the task and we hear nothing further about this for the time being.

These bickerings may have been due to the fact that both Khwaja-i Jahan Turk and Maliku't-Tujjar Gilani were afaqs, but while the former soon made himself uncomfortable in the eyes of all to the extent that even the President of the Council of Regency, the Dowager Queen, began to have her own doubts, Mahmud was able to continue the policy of internal compromise laid down by Humayun. It is a curious problem of the history of the Deccan that while both Humayun and his *protege* Mahmud Gawan did all they

could to produce a sense of harmony between the two great sections which went to form the government of the Deccan, both failed to produce a lasting impression on the people with whom they were destined to live and die. The murmurs at the commencement of the new reign were probably due to two unfortunate factors ; while the New-comers were dissatisfied with the new regime, possibly because the principles on which it was based had upset the hegemony which they had acquired towards the close of 'Alau'd-din Ahmad II's reign, the Old-comers considered the new government to be chiefly composed of two New-comers, *Khwaja-i Jahan* and *Maliku't-Tujjar*.

SOME CULTURAL ASPECTS

The period of the Regency was too much taken up by external wars as a result of wanton attacks by Kapileshwar of Orissa and Mahmud *Khilji* of Malwa to be productive of much cultural value. No doubt the ripe judgment and catholicity of Mahmud Gawan must have been coming to the fore and leading the Deccan to the great cultural heights which it soon attained, but it was yet too early in his official life. There are two monuments, one civil and the other military, which may safely be attributed to this epoch, i. e., the erection of Gagan Mahal and Tarkash Mahal within the fort at Muhammadabad-Bidar and the strong walls and bastions of the fort at Kalyani.⁶ The Tarkash Mahal has a large number of spacious vaulted rooms which have, no doubt, been altered by later additions, and this monument has the peculiarity of a fountain right at the top of the roof, while the Gagan Mahal at the back overlooks the moat and the spacious

grounds beyond and has four vaulted parlours and a number of corridors.⁷ The battlements of the fort at Kalyani are such that they are "almost impregnable against the war apparatuses of those days. The moat is defended on the outer side by a covered passage ten to twelve feet wide protected by breastwork and a scarp with massive bastions on the inner side. Behind the scarp is another covered passage defended on the inner side by a counter scarp and other line of bastions, some rising to a height of fifty feet from the level of the covered passage."⁸

ORISSA

The weakness of a mediaeval kingship is manifested when there is a boy on the throne. The enemies of the Deccan took advantage of this state of affairs almost immediately on the accession of Ahmed III. The first blow came from the ambitious Kapileshwar of Orissa, who now wanted to follow up the success attained by his allies and himself in Humayun's reign in an effective manner, and actually claimed tribute from the Bahmani power. Along with his allies of Tilangana he advanced to Kaulas plundering all that came in his way⁹ and marched forward to within ten miles of the capital itself.¹⁰ The courageous Queen allowed her youthful son to go and fight the marauders with *Khwaja-i Jahan* Turk and a large army consisting of infantry, cavalry and elephants.¹¹ When face to face with the enemy, and on hearing that the Raja wanted tribute from him, the boy king bravely retorted that it was good that the Raya had taken the trouble to come over to meet the Bahmanis, otherwise the king would have had to take the trouble to go

himself to the capital of Orissa, Jajnagar, in order to extract tribute from the Raya.¹² The first onslaught was led by Humayun's old friend and brother-in-law, Shah Muhibbu'l-lah and this was followed by a terrible hand-to-hand fight which lasted from about eight in the morning till about two in the afternoon¹³ resulting in the complete rout of the Raja and his confederates. *Khwaja-i-Jahan* pursued the Raja and forced him to pay an indemnity of five lacs of silver tankas.

MALWA AND GUJARAT

The next country to take advantage of the youth of the king was that inveterate enemy of the Deccan, Sultan Mahmud *Khilji* of Malwa. Evidently there were two parties at the capital of the country, Shadiabad-Mandu,¹⁴ one inclined towards a union with the Deccan, was led by *Khalafu'l-Masha'ikh*, who became the Malwese envoy during the peace negotiations in the next reign; while the other was led by men like the traitor Nizamu'l-Mulk and his family who had fled from the Deccan to Malwa during the last reign. In the beginning the peace party seems to have had a considerable influence, as right at the commencement of Nizamu'd-din Ahmad's reign ambassadors arrived from Shadiabad with presents for the young king and were well received at the court. The union between the two kingdoms came within an ace of being cemented and when the envoys returned home they were loaded with valuable presents for the king of Malwa "such as befitted the position of both the parties."¹⁵ Soon, however, the other group came to be in the ascendant,

mostly because they considered it was a good opportunity to invade the Deccan, because they thought that the Bahmani kingdom must have grown considerably weaker with a boy king on the throne as well as owing to the two campaigns undertaken to ward off the invasions of the Raya of Orissa.¹⁶

Mahmud *Khilji* was not alone when he invaded the Deccan, for the ambitious Kapileshwar joined him¹⁷ and the ruler of *Khandesh* was also not unfriendly to the exploit. It was in 866/-1462 that the confederates crossed into the Deccan through the *Khandesh* territory advancing to within ten farsakh or about thirty-two miles of Bidar. As in the previous campaign against the Orissa army, the youthful king took a personal interest in the mobilization of the Bahmani forces and went to the battle-field himself with the armies of Bijapur, Daulatabad and Berar, accompanied by Maliku't-Tujjar Mahmud Gawan, *Khwaja-i Jahan Turk*, Sikandar Khan Turk the Atabek¹⁸ and a number of other nobles. It is remarkable that, in spite of the restiveness of some of the royal officers of which mention has already been made, the policy of toleration and of a *modus vivendi* between the two sections of the aristocracy, which had been commenced by Humayun, was already bearing fruit, and we find that the army which was now opposing the most dangerous enemy the Deccan ever had, was composed both of New-comers or *Gharibs* as well as the Old-comer dakhnis and Habashis.¹⁹ The forces met near the fortified town, Qandhar. The line of battle was such that the boy king was in the centre with *Khwaja-i Jahan Turk*, Sikandar Khan, 11,000 cavalry and 100 elephants, while on one side was Nizamu'l-Mulk Turk with 10,000 lancers and 100 elephants, and on the other

Mahmud Gawan with 10,000 cavalry and 40 elephants.²⁰ The boy king was directly opposed by Mahmud *Khilji* himself with a large body of cavalry,²¹ while *Khwaja-i Jahan* had in front of him *Maha'bat Khan* of *Chanderi* with *Zahiru'l-Mulk*, and *Nizamu'l-Mulk Turk* faced his namesake *Nizamu'l-Mulk Ghori*²² and Prince *Ghiyasu'd-din* the heir-apparents of *Malwa*.

As the *Malwese* king had dug a trench in front of his position, so the initial engagement was between the right and left wings of the two armies. Mahmud Gawan first defeated *Mahabat Khan* and *Zahiru'l-Mulk* both of whom were left dead on the battlefield, and on the other side Prince *Ghiyasu'd-din* was wounded by *Nizamu'l-Mulk Turk* and was forced to quit the battle field. The day seems to have ended in favour of the *Bahmanis* and the *Khilji* was on the point of flight himself when a miracle happened such as sometimes turns the fortunes not only of battles but also of nations. It seems that the *Bahmani* king was left alone with inexperienced young Turkish nobles who began by sending fifty elephants into the enemy's ranks without anyone to accompany them.²³ In the meantime a stray arrow struck *Sikandar Khan's* elephant and the animal turned back and stampeded.²⁴ *Sikandar* was greatly alarmed at the danger in which the young Sultan was now placed, removed him from his horse and hurried back to *Bidar*. On seeing the royal mount bare-backed there was a great turmoil and the whole of the *Deccan* army turned back with victory so cruelly snatched away from its grasp. Mahmud Gawan, *Khwaja-i Jahan* and the erstwhile victorious troops all turned back to the capital. The whole thing was so utterly surprising that the king of

Malwa thought it was part of a big ruse to entrap him, and it was only after three days' waiting that he was satisfied that the Deccanis had fallen back to Bidar in right earnest and he made up his mind to pursue them.²⁵ When *Khwaja-i Jahan* reached Bidar he complained to the Queen of the great indiscretion of *Sikandar Khan* in having turned victory into defeat and had him imprisoned. The Turkish guard was very much excited over the affair and in their turn petitioned Her Majesty that *Sikandar's* solitary fault was that when both the right and left wings of the royal army were engaged in plundering the enemy's lines and had left the king forlorn, he had managed to extricate the king from his very dangerous position and had saved His Majesty's life; it was thus highly improper to imprison a man like this for the deep loyalty which he had for his sovereign. The Queen was very much touched at this expression of attachment to the person of her son, but replied that just at that moment she could not do anything and had to wait for a better opportunity to punish *Khwaja-i Jahan*.²⁶

An evidence of the new policy of compromise between the Old-comers and the New-comers is seen in the great confidence placed in the former by the Triumvirate when, at *Mahmud Gawan's* instance, the Queen put Bidar fort under *Mallu Khan Dakhni*²⁷ while the country around was being evacuated and the court was removed to *Firozabad*. A short time after this, *Mahmud Khilji* arrived at Bidar and having taken possession of the city, laid siege to the citadel, while the army took possession of the districts and provinces of *Berar*, *Bir* and *Daulatabad*.²⁸ It was at this critical juncture that the sagacious Queen and *Mahmud Gawan* initiated a

policy which was to bear fruit many a time in future, namely that of inviting Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat, one of the greatest rulers of Western India, to come and help the Deccan against the intruder.²⁹ It was only a few years previously that this Sultan, then only thirteen, had replaced his uncle Dawud on the throne after the latter's reign of barely seven days, and Dawud was still at large perhaps heading conspiracies against his nephew. The Gujarati nobles, therefore, warned the king that it would not be advisable to leave the kingdom at this juncture; but the chivalrous monarch referred to the Apostolic saying that the organisation of the Universe and the welfare of human beings was based on union. He said that if the heavens and the elements did not work in co-operation, everything would be in complete disorder and utter discord would prevail; while if human beings broke the chains of mutual help and common partnership, the laws which govern nature would all be upset. When king Mahmud could not be made to remain in the country, his patriotic nobles tried to persuade him that instead of going to the Deccan he should make a diversion in Malwa itself so as to be as near Gujarat as possible and at the same time indirectly help the Deccan.³⁰ But Mahmud replied even to this proposal in the negative and proceeded directly towards the Deccan with 80,000 cavalry halting only at Sultanpur on the Deccan-Gujarat border.³¹

The sudden appearance of this new ally of the Deccan completely upset the *Khilji's* plans. On hearing of the arrival of the Gujarati king on the frontier, Ahmed III wrote a letter to him as follows:

The Almighty be praised for strengthening the foundation of countries by the mutual help of God-fearing and strong kings, and for having made the hearts and the innermost recesses of man lighted by the brilliance of the sword of princely unity. It has been found from the petition of Musnad-i 'Ali Nizamu'l-Mulk and Maliku'sh-sharq Muhammad Parviz Sultan, Thanadar of Fathabad³² that Your Majesty has arrived on the frontiers of my kingdom for strengthening the bonds of Islamic brotherhood. I am now happy to make known to Your Majesty that our infantry as well as our cavalry is ready to meet all eventualities."³³

Accordingly Mahmud Gawan was sent with 6,000 horse to the frontier by way of Bir and was joined by 20,000 Gujarati troops. In the meantime he had mobilised more men and with an army 40,000 strong marched back to Bidar. The court at Firozabad also sent *Khwaja-i Jahan* to the capital. It is creditable that Mallu Khan was still holding out the citadel against the *Khilji* and that the confidence placed in him by the Queen had not been misplaced.³⁴ Thus hemmed in on three sides the *Khilji* had no alternative but to retrace his steps back to Malwa. He first of all went a little way towards Kalyani but when news was brought to him that the king of Gujarat was coming that way, he hurried direct towards Burhanpur and Asir,³⁵ hotly pursued by *Khwaja-i Jahan*, while Mahmud Gawan cut off his communication with 10,000 soldiers under his command.³⁶ The *Khilji* now blinded his elephants, set fire to his heavy baggage and sought his way through Gondwana, Elichpur and Akalkot.³⁷ On his way as many as five or six thousand of his men died

of heat and lack of water while the rest were plundered by the Gonds to their heart's content; the result was that the king of Malwa arrived back to his capital with a thoroughly decimated army. It seems that he was so confident of the final ousting of the Bahmanis from the Deccan that, on arrival at Bidar, he had begun to treat the Deccanis with great respect by way of conciliation, and actually to order the payment of all commodities purchased for the Malwese army and Court. It is said that when the stock of fresh vegetables which the king carried with him came to an end, he referred the matter to Maulana Sharfu'd-din Haq-go Kirmani who was then at Shah *Khalilu'l-lah's* tomb, requesting him to inform him where he could purchase vegetables which rightly belonged to their owners. The venerable Truth-teller, (for such is the meaning of the epithet by which he is remembered) replied and boldly scolded the Sultan for his hypocrisy with which he had invaded other peoples' lands and at the same time with being outwardly so punctilious in matters of diet.³⁸

After the *Khilji's* ignominious retreat, Ahmad III wrote a letter of thanks to the king of Gujarat for all his kindness in coming to the aid of the Deccan.³⁹

But this was not the last scene of the Malwese drama, for the very next year, 867/1463, Mahmud *Khilji* again appeared on the Deccan horizon with a huge army of nearly 90,000 horse,⁴⁰ and marched on without any opposition as far as Fathabad.⁴¹ King Ahmad again requested the help of Mahmud of Gujarat, and when in Rajab 867/ April 1463 the *Khilji* came to know that this namesake of Gujarat had arrived at Sultanpur to help the Deccan, he immediately retraced his steps back home.⁴²

Just three months after this Ahmad III died on the very night of his marriage, on 13.11.867/30.7.1463, and was succeeded by his younger brother Muhammad Khan as Shamsu'd-din Muhammad Shah III.

NOTES

1. The name of 'Alau'd-din Humayun's successor is given by *Fer.* as Nizam Shah and is so corroborated by *Bur.*, but there is no doubt that his full name was Nizamu'd-Din Ahmad Shah; *Riyazu'l-Insha*, xix, 95, where the full name is clearly mentioned in Mahmud Gawan's letter to Shaikh Dawud, envoy of Mahmud Khalji of Malwa. This is also corroborated by the legends on the King's coins. The jital or fils reads:

Obv., المستنصر بنصر الله القوي

Rev., احمد شاه بن همايون شاه البهمني

Speight, *Isl. Cul.* 1935, on p. 299; Codrington, *Num. Chr.*, 1883, p. 100, wrongly puts the following coin to be incorrectly dated :

Obv., الراجي بتأييد الرحمن ٨٦٦

Rev., ابوالمظفر احمد شاه السلطان

and says that 866 ought really to be 826, thus ascribing it to Ahmad I who reigned from 825 to 838 H. As a matter of fact the mistake in his assessment was due to the fact that he was not aware of the full name of Humayun's successor. All our authorities are practically agreed on the date of Ahmad III's death, 13.11.867/30.7.1463.

2. *Bur.*, 96, gives the story of Humayun's testament that Mahmud Gawan should place on the throne one of the three sons of Humayun whom he might regard as being the fittest for the exalted office. This is hardly

likely, especially as the eldest, Ahmad, was only eight; consequently there was hardly any question of his superiority on the score of fitness. *Fer.* I, 343.

3. *Fer.*, I, 343.
4. *Bur.*, 96. This was no doubt in furtherance of a policy of compromise and goodwill to all parties and factions later promoted by Mahmud Gawan.
5. *Riyaz.*, xxi, 21, Mahmud Gawan to Sultan 'Alau'd-din of Gilan.
6. *Munt.* III, 452.
7. *Report Hyd. Arch. Dept.*, 1928-29, pp. 8 and 9.
8. *Report Hyd. Arch. Dept.*, 1934-35, p. 19.
9. *Fer.*, I 343.
10. *Fer.*, has 10 kroh, while *Bur.* has 3 farsakh—54,000 yards.
11. There is a difference in numbers, for while *Fer.* mentions 40,000 cavalry, *Bur.* has only 10,000.
12. *Jajnagar*, now Jajpur, headquarters of a sub-division of Cuttack of the same name in Orissa State 20°51'N., 86°20' E. Banerji, I. 296 disbelieves that the Orissan army was defeated by the Bahmanis, but gives no reasons for his conclusions. He deduces from the epithet 'Conqueror of Kalabarga' used for Purushotam in the inscription in the Jagannath temple, that he actually conquered Gulbarga, while as a matter of fact the Bahmani kingdom was indifferently named as the kingdom of Bidar or kingdom of Gulbarga. There is absolutely no evidence that Gulbarga was even conquered by the Orissans.
13. *Bur.*, 97.
14. For Shadiabad Mandu see Yazdani, *Mandu, the city of joy*, Oxford, 1929.
15. Reference to this embassy will be found in *Riyaz.*, xix, 94, to the *Khalafu'l-Mashaikh*.
16. *Bur.*, 98.
17. *Fer.*, I 343.
18. *Bur.*, 98. The title 'Atabek' is mentioned in *Zaf.*, I, 166.
19. *Fer.*, I, 345.
20. *Bur.*, 98 says that Nizamu'l-Mulk was on the right

- and Mahmud Gawan on the left of the King, while *Fer.* asserts the contrary.
21. *Bur.*, 20,000 ; *Fer.*, 12,000.
 22. Thus in *Bur.*, 99. This clearly shows that Nizamu'l-Mulk had not been put to death by Humayun.
 23. *Ibid.*
 24. *Fer.*, I 345.
 25. *Bur.*, 99.
 26. *Fer.*, I, 345.
 27. Mallu was the same person who was a party to the conspiracy to put Hasan on the throne at the time of the accession of Humayun.
 28. *Fer.*, I. 345.
 29. This letter was written at Mahmud Gawan's instance. See *Fer.* I. 345. Da'ud, Sultan of Gujarat, 1458. Mahmud I, 1458-1511. This king saw the rise as well as the fall of the Bahmani kingdom. He was himself one of the most renowned of the Gujarati monarchs.
 30. For this letter as well as the machinations of the Gujarati nobles see *Bur.* 100.
 31. *Fer.*, I 345.
 32. This Fathabad was without doubt Laling, six miles north of Dhulia in west *Khandesh* district. See Hodiwala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 627.
 33. *Bur.*, 102.
 34. *Fer.*, I. 346.
 35. *Bur.*, 103. Kalyan, or Kalyani in the district of Bidar in Hyderabad State, once the capital of the Chalukya kings ; situation, 17°3' N. 76°57' E. *Asir*, an important fort in Burhanpur tehsil, Bombay State; 21°28' N. 76°18' E.
 36. *Fer.*, I, 347.
 37. I have not been able to find the situation of this town. There is an Akkalkot, the former capital of an Indian State on the western outskirts of the Hyderabad State but this Akkalkot must have been differently situated.
 38. *Fer.*, I. 347.

- 39. *Bur.*, 104.
- 40. *Bur.*, 105.
- 41. *Zafar*. I. 166.
- 42. The letter is given *in extenso* in *Bur.*, where the month is also mentioned.

CHAPTER II
AGE OF MAHMUD GAWAN
SHAMSU'D-DIN MUHAMMAD III

30.7.1463-26.3.1482

A. THE REGENCY: 1463-1466

Shamsu'd-din Muhammad¹ was between nine and ten² when he succeeded his elder brother. He was escorted to the Turquoise Throne by Shah Muhibbu'l-lah (who had evidently been released by his captor Mahmud *Khilji* of Malwa) and Syed Hanif, the two divines who had likewise escorted his late brother Ahmed III to the throne three years previously. The wise Queen trained her youthful son from the outset to be forbearing to her younger brother Ahmed who became his constant playmate and companion. At the same time she appointed an eminent teacher of the time, Sharafu'd-din Sadr Jahan Shustrari,³ to be the royal tutor, with the result that the new king became one of the most accomplished of the Bahmani sovereigns.

MURDER OF KHWAJA-I JAHAN TURK

It seems that *Khwaja-i Jahan Turk* began to alienate the sympathies of a powerful section of the nobility by his high-handed behaviour. He began by replacing the scions of the

old aristocracy by members of the new nobility⁴ and thus upset the equilibriums which had been started by Humayun and continued by the Triumvirate during the last reign. He was so much bent upon having his own way that he actually managed to send away Maliku't-Tujjar Mahmud Gawan to distant frontier provinces⁵ in order that he might do just as he liked in his absence. Rumours soon went about that he was actually embezzling money and jewels from the royal treasury. As has been mentioned, the Queen was displeased at his conduct for having imprisoned Sikandar Khan whose solitary fault seemed to her that he had saved the late king's life. The absence of Mahmud Gawan, the moderating element in the Triumvirate, from the court, and the indignities under which the old nobility were smarting, all pointed the way to *Khwaja-i Jahan's* doom. The Queen was waiting for an opportunity, as she had told the deputation of the Turkish Guard, and *Khwaja-i Jahan* had to pay by his life. One morning in 870/-1466 he was surprised to see Nizamu'l-Mulk with a detachment of armed troops as he was going to pay his respects to the king in the Throne Room. As he entered he saw two maid-servants emerging from the zenana part of the palace, at whose instance Nizamu'l-Mulk dragged the unfortunate man towards him and murdered him in the boy-king's presence. Thus ended the Triumvirate which had taken over charge of the government of the kingdom after Humayun's death on 28.11.865/1.9.1461.

SUCCESS OF THE REGENCY

The Triumvirate had lasted just five years, and it was remarkable in a number of ways. The first thing to remember

is the extra-ordinary unity of interest and action shown by the members of the Council of Regency which was ruling the land. There is not one line of board policy in which there is any difference between the Queen, the Chief Minister Maliku't-Tujjar Mahmud Gawan and *Khwaja-i Jahan Turk*, and it is through this unity of action that the Deccan was freed from the Malwese menace. Moreover in the two campaigns undertaken during the reign, one against the ambitious Raya of Orissa and the other against the powerful king of Malwa, both the male members of the triumvirate fought side by side evidently without any difference whatever. The principle of government by Council was accepted to a remarkable extent, so much so that when Sikandar Khan was imprisoned for having brought the king to Bidar from the battlefield and thus causing the defeat of the Bahmani arms, even the dowager Queen, who was the most potent figure in the government, could not release him although in the depths of her heart she must have been pleased when her youthful son escaped from the *melee* of the battlefield. In spite of this natural weakness all credit is due to her for having allowed her young son to go into the thick of the fighting twice in as many years, and there is no doubt that the women-folk of the State must have been vastly influenced by the brave lead given to them by the court. The last thing to be mentioned is the continuation of the policy of conciliating both the factions which formed the aristocracy of the kingdom, namely the Dakhnis and the so-called Afaqis. It was in the fitness of things that the policy should be so continued as all the three members of the Council of Regency had been trained in the school of Humayun in whose

reign the policy was originated. The release of Mallu Khan Dakhni who had been the cause of so much trouble to the late king, and his appointment to the very important charge of the citadel-palace of Muhammadabad-Bidar meant that so long as the present regime lasted, the distinction between the two factions was to disappear from politics as far as possible.

This policy of unity of action, however, came to a stop with the accession of Muhammad III, resulting in the high-handedness of certain state officials and the murder of *Khwaja-i Jahan Turk* who had made himself unpopular with all classes. Mahmud Gawan now had no one to equal him in courage, intelligence and diplomacy, and we shall see him supreme in the next stage of the reign of Muhammad III.

B. ASCENDENCY OF MAHMUD GAWAN 1466-1473

MAHMUD GAWAN, PRIME MINISTER

It was about 870/-1466 that Muhammad Shah III, then in his fourteenth year, was married with great pomp, and robes of honour were distributed among the civil and military officers of the kingdom.⁶ The sagacious Dowager Queen *Makhduma-i Jahan*, who had been the great unifying factor in government since her husband Humayun's death, now thought it was time to retire from active participation in politics, and although the king made it a point to visit his mother every day and seek her advice on matters of policy,⁷ it was not as the virtual ruler but simply as a well-wisher of the state that she communicated her opinions to her son. *Khwaja-i Jahan Turk* had already been removed, and with the retirement of *Makhduma-i Jahan* the stage was set for the formal investiture of the *Maliku't-Tujjar Mahmud Gawan*

as the Chief Minister. For this purpose a ceremonious darbar was held at which His Majesty delivered an address to those gathered together, which is remarkable for the sagacity of the youthful king and once again gives some insight into the theory of the Bahmani government. He said :

“It should be known that both religious and worldly affairs require the help of advisory councils, and the laws on which the organisation of every state or country is based need great thought and circumspection. Thus it is necessary that care should be taken to acquire the opinion of the wise in matters pertaining to the affairs of government. For God Almighty himself ordered the Apostle of Islam (Peace be upon him and his descendants !) that he should take counsel in worldly affairs. The Apostle laid down that counsel was like a fortress against repentance and a refuge from reproach, and the Caliph ‘Ali has said : ‘The best of ministers is counsel and worst of powers is self-will.’ The purport of all this is that it is best to act upon the advice of a wise minister, for his opinion would be like a mirror of truth and honesty. The philosophers of old have said that kings and successful leaders should not interfere with the policy of state without the advice of wise elders.”⁸

In order that this ideal might be reached, the king, with the consent of the Dowager Queen, made *Khwaja* Mahmud Gawan Prime minister, giving him charge of all the provinces of the kingdom as well as authority over matters great and small.⁹ He was not only given the title of *Khwaja-i Jahan* but was henceforth addressed in official documents as “Lord of the habitors of the Globe, Secretary of the Royal

Mansion, Deputy of the Realm" with two thousand Mughal troops as his bodyguard.

The premiership of Mahmud Gawan saw the Bahmani state attain a height unequalled in the whole of its history. Apart from the purely cultural aspects of his term of office, the frontiers of the kingdom were made secure by the effective occupation of the Konkan territory as far south as Goa, and the annexation of Godavari-Krishna Doab in the east, while expeditions were led to the very heart of Orissa and the Coromondal littoral as far as Kanchi. For the first time the frontiers of the Bahmani realm extended from sea to sea and the term of the *Khwaja's* office saw the annihilation of the ambitions of Malwa, Orissa and Vijayanagar for some time to come.

PARTIES

It is remarkable that such a result was achieved in spite of the perennial animosity of the faction opposed to the *Khwaja* at the capital. This animosity was revived when he was away for nearly three years pacifying the western frontiers of the kingdom, and his enemies found time not only to try and poison the mind of the youthful king but actually to put stumbling blocks in the *Khwaja's* path making it most difficult for him to carry the Bahmani flag flying in the far west and south-west. Time and again he writes to those in authority at Muhammadabad-Bidar bitterly complaining of the lack of troops and war material on the battlefield,¹⁰ and had it not been for his great native energy in spite of his old age, the Bahmani army would have had to relate a sorry tale. In spite of this, when it came to a redistribution of places of honour and responsibility, he did not forget the

lessons he had already learnt that it was necessary to take into consideration both the parties which went to form the Bahmani aristocracy, namely the Old-comers and the New-comers, and effect a political equilibrium between them. It was at his instance that Malik Hasan was created Nizamul-Mulk and made Sarlashkar of Tilangana, Fathu'l-lah, "the wisest of the subordinates of *Khwaja-i Jahan Turk*" was created 'Imadu'l-Mulk and made Sharlashkar of Berar; and Yusuf 'Adil, who was like a son to the *Khwaja* and was perhaps the ablest of the Turkish nobles, became the Sarlashkar of Daulatabad, Junair and Chakan with Darya Khan and the other Turkish nobles including Qasim Beg, Shah Quli Sultan and other *Mughals*, as his subordinates.¹¹

Not only did Mahmud Gawan try to hold the balance evenly between the Old-comers and the New-comers but he did his best to win over the sympathies of the Hindu population as well. His suggestion to the king that Parketa, chief of Belgam, should be pardoned for his misdeeds and made an amir of the kingdom,¹² must have paved the way for the conciliation of the Maratha people which bore abundant fruit later during the hegemony of Bijapur over western districts. The tendency to eradicate communalism which had been existing for some time past, was no doubt strengthened by the temporary alliance of the Bahmanis with Vijayanagar against Kapileshwar and by the help which Muhammad III later gave to Hamvira of Orissa.¹³ Another instance of the cordial relations of the Hindus with the Bahmanis will be seen in the part which the chief of Mudhol played during the western campaigns. When Mahmud Gawan was back at Kolhapur in order to spend the rainy

season of 1470, he asked Karan Singh, ruler of Mudhol, to protect the Ghats against the enemy, the Rayas of Sangameshwar and Khelna. It is said that it was mainly due to the cleverness of Karan Singh and his men that the Bahmani army finally overcame them. The great fort of Khelna was a stumbling block to the further progress of the Bahmani forces, as it was too steep for them to scale. Karan Singh now played a trick. He caught hold of some iguanas (Pers. *Susmar*; Hind., *Ghorpare*), tied ropes round their waists and made them ascend the ramparts in the dead of night. These animals were so secure on the walls that Karan's son Bhim Singh and his Maratha forces scaled the ramparts by means of these ropes and thus helped the *Khwaja* to make short work of the defenders.

The king, on the strong recommendation of Mahmud Gawan who was then the most powerful servant of the state, issued a royal farman on 7.5.876/22.10.1471 that besides extensive jagirs, Rana Bhim Singh should be given the title of Raja Ghorpare Bahadur, which is proudly held by the rulers of Mudhal even to this day.¹⁴

GENERAL STATE OF THE KINGDOM

It was during this period that a number of forts, such as that of Parenda were built.¹⁵ It was, however, not military edifices which made a mark in the history of Deccan architecture of the period but that noble building, the great College at Bidar, which was to remain a permanent symbol of the public welfare which Mahmud Gawan always had at heart. Here it is better to quote the words of an authority on Deccan architecture with regard to this edifice which is still the most prominent landmark of the erstwhile capital of the Deccan.

"The front of the building which was luxuriously adorned with encaustic tiles of various hues and shades, all arranged in different designs, had one stately minaret at each side, rising to a height of 100 feet. These minarets also were decorated with tiles arranged in zigzag lines, a pattern which lent the building a most attractive appearance. The building rises to three storeys in a most imposing position. Its entire length extends to 205 feet with a width of 180 feet. It has excellent arrangements of light and air and cannot be surpassed on these points by modern structures."¹⁶ This great seat of learning was surrounded by a huge courtyard with a thousand cubicles where learned men and teachers of renown congregated from all parts of the east, while students were provided not only with intellectual fare but also with food and clothes free of cost.¹⁷ Such a foundation could not be without an adequate library which was no doubt its central feature, for we read that no one could give a more acceptable present to Mahmud Gawan than a manuscript, and every manuscript which was so presented, forthwith found a place in the library of the Madrasah.¹⁸

No doubt the *Khwaja* himself was frequently to be seen in the corridors of the college in his spare hours; but we also read in his letters how eager he was to get the best among the learned of Iran and 'Iraq to come and lecture at Muhammadabad-Bidar. In fact he left no stone unturned to get such giants of contemporary learning as Maulana Nuru'd-din Jami, the great Persian scholar Jalalu'd-din Dawani, Shaikh Sadru'd-din 'Abdu'r-Rahman Rawasi and others to come to the Deccan.¹⁹

This was the great Madrasah which Mahmud Gawan

completed in 876/-1472 as is evidenced by the following chronogram:

این مدرسه رفیع و محمود بنا — چون کعبه شداست قبله اهل صفا
آثار قبول بین که شد تاریخش — از آیه ربا تقبل منا ²⁰

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The verse of the Qur'an سلام علیکم طبعم فادخلوها خالدين

which still adorns one of the front walls, was an invitation for everyone to come and partake of the intellectual fare provided therein. The main building was damaged by a gunpowder explosion during the reign of Aurangzeb in 1107/1696 and more than a quarter of it, including one of the two minarets, was destroyed. The students' cubicles also disappeared in the course of time and perhaps were replaced by houses on the northern, southern and western sides. It is, however, still the glory of the Deccan and an example of the "beautiful Persian architecture in glazed tiles developed under the later Mongols and at the court of the Great Timur." ²²

These and other works of utility must have made Bidar well known not only in India but elsewhere as well, and the Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin, who was in the Deccan under the assumed name of *Khwaja Yusuf Khurasani* from 1469 to 1474, says that it was the "chief town of the whole of Mahomedan Hindustan." ²³ The city was about 15 miles long and as much broad and contained many inhabitants, while trade abounded in horses, cloth, silk, pepper and many other kinds of merchandise. He says that special stress was laid on the principle that none but articles produced in the country should be sold in the bazars of Bidar, which shows that the country produced all that was required for even the most

fastidious of its inhabitants. The kingdom was a rendezvous not only for the Deccanis but for the whole of India, for Nikitin says that in the "City"²⁴ (meaning the kingdom) was a place *Shikhbaludin Peratyr* (probably meaning the tomb of Shaikh Siraju'd-din Janaidi at Gulbarga) and a bazar *Aladinand* (possibly attached to the tomb of 'Alau'd-din Hasan Bahman Shah, also at Gulbarga) where people from all parts of India assembled and traded for ten days and as many as 20,000 horses were brought there from the capital. Besides Bidar other towns such as the Bahmani seaport Mustafabad-Dabul, were centres of trade and commerce. At Dabul which was a very large town, "many horses are brought from Mysore, Arabia, *Khurasan*, Turkistan and other places" and a profitable trade was carried on by sea with Indian as well as African coast towns.

All this must have increased the wealth of the land, and although says Nikitin, "the country people were poor, the nobles were "extremely opulent." "They are wont to be carried on their silver beds (no doubt, meaning palanquins), preceded by twenty chargers caparisoned in gold and followed by three hundred men on horseback and five hundred on foot along with ten torch-bearers and ten musicians." The Sultan lived in the forest palace at Bidar each of the gates of which were guarded by one hundred armed men and there were in addition, a hundred scribes who wrote down the names of all those who entered or left the precincts. Nikitin says that the palace was most wonderful to behold for everything there was carved or gilded or otherwise ornamented. Evidently the Fort also contained the court of justice and Nikitin specially mentions this. He remarks in particular

that great care was taken for the safety of the inhabitants of the capital, for the city was guarded at night by a thousand horsemen fully clad in armour and with lanterns in their hands.

Our traveller had the privilege of seeing the sultan himself and says that he was a young man of twenty, of a low stature, and was fond of hunting expedition to which he went accompanied by the Queen and the Queen-mother in full state on Tuesdays and Thursdays. On the 'Id day he saw him riding on a golden saddle, in an embroidered dress studded with sapphires and with a large diamond glittering "on his pointed headdress" probably a Turkish *Kulah*. The armour he was wearing on this occasion was of gold studded with sapphires and he carried three swords mounted in gold. In front of the cavalcade ran a man playing on a 'teremetz' followed by numerous attendants on foot. Sometimes the Sultan was carried in a golden palanquin with a silk canopy and a gold pinnacle drawn by four horses in gilt harness. This was preceded by soldiers armed with drawn swords or sabres, shields, spears, lances and large straight bows.

In his description of the great Wazir of the Bahmani state, Mahmud Gawan, he mentions that five hundred sat down to dine with him every day, and he carefully remarks that most of them did not belong to "the class of the high and the mighty," for there were usually only three ministers among them. In his stables stood two thousand horses half of which were always saddled and kept in readiness night and day. His mansion was guarded every night by a hundred armed men and ten torch-bearers.²⁵

MALWA

It was not long after Muhammad Shah had taken over the reins of government in his hands that a conflict again arose between the Deccan and its northern neighbour, Malwa. Although there had been no fighting in the northern sector since Rajab 867/-April 1463, the tension between the two kingdoms had by no means abated. It transpires that Mahmud *Khilji* claimed that Mahur and Ellichpur ²⁶ should be ceded to Malwa, to which Mahmud Gawan rightly replied that the two territories had been part and parcel of the kingdom of the Deccan and had been conquered by Bahmani arms and the two districts could not be snatched away from Malwa.²⁷

As a matter of fact it was an open secret that the ambitious ruler of Malwa was making preparations for another invasion of the Deccan. Knowing fully well that the promises made by the northern ruler were "as slender as the spider's web" ²⁸ and forestalling the Malwese action, Muhammad Shah appointed Musnad-i 'Ali Malik Yusuf Turk, surnamed Nizamu'l-Mulk, commander of the army of Berar, to settle matters once and for all,²⁹ and also sent Mahmud Gawan with the diverging forces to Fathabad on the borders of *Khandesh*.³⁰ In the meantime the old diplomacy of allying the Deccan with Gujarat against Malwa was revived. We have a communication from the Bahmani King to Mahmud Shah of Gujarat in which the latter was informed that a treaty of mutual alliance had been signed by the plenipotentiaries of the two states through the good offices of the Gujarat envoy *Khan-i A'zam Safdar Khan*, and the king of Gujarat was requested to send a detachment of troops to the frontiers of Asir in

order that "the enemy might end his days soon."³¹

It was in 872/-1468 that Nizamu'l-Mulk went and besieged Kherla. The local Hindu muqaddam or chief was reduced to such straits that he had to call in the help of the Malwese army which was, it is interesting to note, composed both of Afghans and Rajputs.³² This was of no avail, however, and after sustaining heavy losses and leaving five thousand of his own men dead on the field, Siraju'l-Mulk, the Malwese commander, was taken prisoner along with twenty-three elephants by Nizamu'l-Mulk, and the fortress of Kherla was occupied by the Deccan army, while the Daccani Commander allowed the main Malwese army to march out of the fortress unharmed. There was, however, so much enmity between the members of the opposing forces that Nizamu'l-Mulk had to pay for his clemency by his very life.

It is stated that when the Deccan forces had finally succeeded in gaining the fortress, two Rajput defenders of the citadel came to him and begged him to allow them to kiss his feet. Their request was granted, but as they bowed for the supposed obeisance, instead of kissing the humane commander's feet they took him unawares and stabbed him in the heart killing him instantaneously.³³ Nizamu'l-Mulk had adopted two young men 'Abdu'l-lah Yaghrash Khan and Fathu'l-lah Wafa Khan, who brought their patron's corpse to the king at Bidar and were honourably received there. They were made hazaris and granted the titles of 'Adil Khan and Darya Khan respectively.³⁴

When Mahmud Khilji heard of the losses sustained in reducing Kherla, he hurried to the battlefield himself in spite

of his failing health. On perceiving the *Khilji's* movements, Mahmud Gawan immediately wheeled round from Fathabad and fearing that his communications might be cut off once again by the Daccanis and their allies, the king of Malwa retraced his steps to his capital.³⁵

This was the end of the campaign against Malwa, and the Daccanis had once again succeeded against the Malwese forces. There are some interesting pourparlers revealed by our authorities and the way they ended in finally cementing the alliance between the two countries shows the magnanimity which had been the mark of Deccani statemanship ever since the time of Ahmad Shah Wali. The negotiations seem to have begun with communications from the Malwese minister and were duly reported to Mahmud Gawan by Zainu'l-Quzat Qazi Ahmed and Malik Nasir and hinted at the idea of sending a special Malwese envoy to Bidar. Mahmud Gawan replied that when "the other party" was inclined towards peace the Deccan should also be ready, and sent *Khan-e A'zam Sadr Khan* to Shadiabad Mandu.³⁶ The king of Malwa thereupon sent a peace mission consisting of *Sharafu'l-Mulk*³⁷ and *Khalafu'l Masha'ikh Shaikh Dawud el-Mandavi*³⁸ with an autograph letter from himself to the Bahmani Sultan in which he withdrew his former claims for Mahur and Ellichpur and made a proposal to the effect that, as it had been agreed upon by Sultan Hoshang Shah of Malwa and Sultan Ahmad Shah Wali that Berar should remain a part of the Deccan and Kherla should go to Malwa, the pledge thus entered into between the parties should still be regarded as binding. Mahmud Gawan does not seem, however, to have been very sanguine about the

intentions of the king of Malwa, as he who had broken his plighted word so often and had "carried on wanton massacres of the Hindus and Muslim," and remembered well that he would have put an end to the Bahmani kingdom itself if help had not been forthcoming from Gujarat in the reign of Nizamu'l-din Ahmed III. The Bahmani minister has some very plain speaking in his letters to the Malwese emissary *Khalafu'l Masha'ikh Shaikh Dawud*. He says that it was not the first time that *Khilji* envoys had come to Bidar to sue for peace, for this was only a repetition of what had been done in the time of Ahmed III, when also *Shaikh Dawud* had sent an appeal for "joint action by the two Muslim States." He goes on to say :

"On his part the *Khilji* showed his opposition and antagonism instead of love and alliance and did not desist from the wayward path which was different from the route laid down by Sultans past and present, and was always turning his ears to the party which delighted in scandal-mongering. The best of kings consider that the only method of bettering the condition of their people is based on external as well as internal purification. By external purification is meant the ending of internecine feuds, . . . while by internal purification is meant the turning away from falsehood and deceit."

He would be ready to do everything to end the useless antagonism between the two peoples only if the king of Malwa did not lend his ear to irresponsible advisers and if he could be relied upon follow the correct line of action.³⁹ In another letter to *Shaikh Dawud*, he says that the foundation of promises made by the *Khilji* were as slender as the

spider's web and nothing further could be done unless the outward purity of action were in line with the inward purity of intention. Malwa should know that the history of Malik Shah's defeat could never be repeated and that the Deccan was always ready to fight and win in the cause of freedom and righteousness.⁴⁰

The response came in the shape of another peace mission, the members of which were Qazi Laddan (*sic*) Tahir and Is'haq Tahir, who represented that Mahmud *Khilji* was really sorry for all that had happened. The Deccani men of piety and learning thereupon persuaded the king to send his own envoy with a satisfactory reply. Aqza'l Quzat Haji Malik Ahmad and Qazi Shaikh Muhtasib were thereupon sent to Mandu, and the ally of the Deccan, the king of Gujarat, was duly informed.⁴¹ The mission to Mandu carried an autograph letter from the Bahmani king to the king of Malwa expressing the desire on the part of the former for a lasting and a permanent peace.⁴² It was received by Mahmud *Khilji* with great pomp, and the leader Aqza'l-Quzat Ahmad was more over received in private audience by the king. Finally a treaty of peace and friendship was signed by Shaikh Ahmad on behalf of the Deccan and Shaikhul-Islam, Salamu'l-lah Auhadi on behalf of Malwa and was duly sealed by the umara and masha'ikh present who showered curses on the party which dared to break it. By this treaty Kherla was given to Malwa and Berar kept by the Deccan.⁴³ The whole episode ended in burying past quarrels between the two neighbouring states and cementing ties of friendship by exchange of mutual envoys "in order that the rules of friendship might serve as the foundation of

love which should henceforth shine like a glittering and a highly ornamental palace."⁴⁴ This just settlement and the feeling of mutual respect between the Deccan and Malwa were the direct outcome of the policy of Mahmud Gawan and lasted till the end of the Bahmani state, for never was the fund resumed.

ORISSA

We have followed the exploits of Kapileshwar of Orissa as far as his defeat at the hands of *Khwaja-i Jahan Turk*. His last years were further marred by his defeat in 1470 by a coalition of the Bahmanis and Vijayanagar,⁴⁵ the government of which had passed into the hands of the minister Saluva Narasimha who was soon to oust Virupaksha from the throne and found a new dynasty. A short while after, news arrived at Bidar of the illness and death of the Raya of Orissa⁴⁶ and of the usurpation of authority by a Brahman, Mangal Rai. The latter had expelled the rightful heir Hamvira from the land. Hamvira now petitioned the Bahmani Sultan to help him in regaining his patrimony.⁴⁷ This was probably the same Hamvira whom Kapileshwar had sent to help Linga in driving the Bahmanis out of Tilangana in Humayun's reign; and now the very man who had forced the Bahmani army to raise the siege of Dewarkonda actually begs them for help. No doubt this change in the position of the Deccan, embodied firstly by its alliance with Vijayanagar and then by this request for interference in the internal affairs of Orissa, was due to the superior diplomacy of Mahmud Gawan's ministry as well as by Bahman successes in the field of battle. It was also probably due to the

effective organisation of political forces and the greater sense of unity which that organisation had inculcated. Anyhow, on receiving Hamvira's petition the Sultan held a council of war at which Malik Hasan Basri, who had now become the Sultan's favourite,⁴⁸ volunteered to lead the expedition, and on Mahmud Gawan's special recommendation, was granted its command. As a result of the campaign Hasan forced the usurper Mangal Rai to leave Orissa and vacate the throne for Hamvira who now became the ruler of Orissa with the title of Purushotam.⁴⁹ Malik Hasan was, however, not content with this, and at the Sultan's instance, went and conquered Rajahmundri and the erstwhile seat of the Reddis, the great fort of Kondavidu. When he arrived back at Bidar he was graciously received by the Sultan with great deference, granted a robe of honour and at the instance of the Dowager Queen and Mahmud Gawan made sarlashkar of Tilangana with the title of Nizamu'l-Mulk.

THE WESTERN CAMPAIGNS

With the rectification of the northern and eastern frontiers of the Kingdom, it was now the turn of the western coastline to be pacified and brought under control. As we have mentioned the western lands called Konkan and the Desh were nominally under the Bahmani sceptre but had never been effectively occupied, and the massacre of Khalaf Hasan Basri and his companions had left a blot on the reputation of the Bahmani arms with the resultant restiveness of the local chiefs. Two of these chiefs seem more powerful than the rest, namely the Rayas of Khelna and Sangameshwar,⁵⁰ and they were in the habit of intercepting Muslim trading vessels plying in the Arabian Sea, sending hundreds of boats

out every year to battle with these ships.⁵¹ The Raya of Sangameshwar alone sent nearly one hundred and thirty vessels to rob the Mecca pilgrims annually,⁵² and "many thousands of Muslims were sacrificed at the altar of the greed of these people."⁵³ These piratical raids must have meant a big decline in the maritime commerce of the country as the merchants were afraid to take out their wares, and while the chiefs were no doubt enriched by their robbery, the country as a whole was impoverished. The immediate cause of the conflict seems to have been that the local Rayas had gathered together three hundred country craft and were waylaying travellers by sea in spite of repeated warnings.⁵⁴

FIRST PHASE

The first campaign undertaken was by the Sultan himself during which he reduced Hubli after a siege. Much booty was taken from the local chiefs and they were forced to pay tribute to the Bahmani state.⁵⁵ This was, of course, carried out in order to protect the southern flank of the Bahmani forces during the next phases of the campaigns.

SECOND PHASE

In the beginning of 874/1469, Muhammad Shah expressed a desire that the Konkan should be effectively subdued so that peace and plenty, rather than uneasiness and restlessness, should be the order of the day.⁵⁶ What he wanted was to lead the campaign himself as he had done a short while before, but Mahmud Gawan, perhaps aware of the difficulties of the country to be subdued, begged that His Majesty should not take the trouble himself but should be allowed to act

as Commander. On receiving royal orders, the *Khwaja* proceeded to Kolhapur and made that city his headquarters. On the other hand, when the Rayas heard of the arrival of the Bahmani forces, they forthwith closed the Ghats which were their natural gateway and "vowed that they would put to the sword every Muslim living in their country if the Bahmanis advanced." Soon Mahmud Gawan found that his cavalry was of no use whatsoever in the mountainous region through which he had to proceed and was only acting as an impediment to his mobility, so he sent it back. At the same time he sent orders for reinforcements to his own province of Bijapur. His manumitted slave, *Khush Qadam*, who was later created *Kishwar Khan*, brought the forces from Dabul and Karhad, while the armies of Junair and Chakan came under the command of *As'ad Khan*, and help also arrived from Chaul, Wai and Man.⁵⁷ The ground was covered with thick jungle and the *Khwaja* lost no time ordering his men to cut down and burn the woods. It seems that the enemy began by having recourse to guerilla warfare "giving fifty battles" to Mahmud Gawan's troops.⁵⁸ This went on for many weeks, heavy rains set in, and the *Khwaja* had to retire to his thatched headquarters at Kolhapur.

When the rains had subsided to a certain extent, the *Khwaja* emerged from his retreat and marched on the fortress of Raingna, "which was so strong that its forced capture was possible only with the greatest carnage."⁵⁹ So, evidently in order to stop wanton bloodshed, he opened his purse-strings for the leaders of the opposing forces and they were offered "Frankish cloth, belts studded with jewels, palanquins, Arab steed and arms of the most exquisite

pattern"⁶⁰ and the proud fort was surrendered only with a slight bloodshed after the payment of an indemnity of twelve lakhs in cash and kind, on 20.1.875/19.7.1470.⁶¹ From Raingna he marched to the fort of Machal "the largest fort in the neighbourhood," which was attacked in full force, and "battlements, pigeonholes and bastions of the skyscraping eminence" were all reduced and every one of the surviving defenders made a prisoner of war. The Raya was so hard pressed that he sent his own son "with some wise men" from the neighbouring fort of Khelna to surrender the fort to the Bahmani arms,⁶² and the surrender was finally effected on 22.7.875/14.1.1471.⁶³

In spite of the rapid movements of the army, the long-drawn battles and guerilla tactics of the enemy must have told on the *Khwaja's* resources. Jakhurai of Sangameshwar was not the man to look forward to give in without a struggle, and during the fighting in the spring of 1471 he was not allowed to make much progress. Moreover, as *Khwaja* himself relates, this hilly country was studded with mighty forts "each of which in its height and extension is like the jungles of Tabaristan and Demawand."⁶⁴ Before marching onward to Sangameshwar itself, the *Khwaja* wrote to Bidar for further reinforcements, for, if he were entrapped in this difficult and Godforsaken land, he as well as the royal army would perhaps share the fate of his predecessor *Khalaf Hasan Basri*. The protracted absence of the *Khwaja* from Bidar had given a long sought opportunity to the party opposed to him, and they began to undermine him in two ways, firstly by traitorously withholding reinforcements from reaching the Konkan

and further by beginning to poison the mind of the king himself.

MACHINATIONS AGAINST MAHMUD GAWAN

We have in our possession three letters which the *Khwaja* wrote to friends and ministers from the actual theatre of war showing his great concern at the machinations of his opponents while he was leading the royal forces to victory after victory against great odds. He writes "to a friend":

"I am very much grieved at the wanton acts of the iniquitous (فساد) and the envious, and am grateful for the regard of the small number of my 'helpers' (انصار). The delay in the arrival of the army of As'ad Khan and the refusal to commission troops (منع نامردي) in the name of His Majesty are all matters of deepest concern...The real object of the party of envy...is that those unfortunates who happen to be in the island of Goa should be martyred at the hands of the enemy and the star of the honour of this humble servant should set in the horizon of utter obscurity."⁶⁵

In another he writes letter to a Bahmani minister thus :

"If anyone believes in the help of the nobles, *Khans* and *Maliks* of this kingdom he can only reap a harvest of utter failure and hopelessness...On the other hand if one shoots the arrows of endeavour and vigilance at the butt of the fulfilment of his objects by the strength of his own arms without the hope of any external help, for him there is an assurance of success. You are fully aware that the Konkan country is full of jungle and mountain

and it is impossible for the army to pass through without cutting down the trees and to a certain extent levelling the ground for the army to pass through...You can well understand that this task is difficult of accomplishment without man-power and the required implements."⁶⁶

As has been said, apart from trying to undo the *Khwaja's* efforts in the cause of the greatness of the Bahmani kingdom, the opposing faction was poisoning the mind of the king against him and this was already preparing the ground for fateful day of his murder. When he got to know of the conspiracy hatching at the capital, he wrote a letter to a 'a minister' in which he complained:

"At this hour the arrows of affliction and calumny are being shot against my heart from the bow of the enmity of the envious...Untruths are being made to hide the faint sparks of truth and these are sent up as the food to the Royal Throne...The world-consuming fire is burning in the ovens of their dreadful hearts...And one is not aware how long the people of the capital are going to shut their eyes and ears to the truth."⁶⁷

Again, writing to Qaziu'l Quzat Sadr Jahan he says :

"Their treasuries are full of sinfully earned money, just as their hearts are full of greed, ignorance and envy...Although the dark existence of these people is due to the shadow cast by the moon of the organization instituted by this humble servant, the feelings of these men are such that out of sheer malice they would kill each other and make me the object of all the wrongs which it is in their power to perpetrate."⁶⁸

These letters throw a lurid light on what was happening at Bidar and show how seriously handicapped Mahmud Gawan was in fighting Jakhurai of Sangameshwar and his associates, how keen he was to pacify the western coast-line in order so ensure that "the travellers by land and sea should be free from the fear of marauders and pirates."⁶⁹ In spite of the great risks he was incurring he knew that things were taking an adverse turn at the capital. Nevertheless he went steadily forward and did not turn his back till his mission had been fulfilled. After Machal and Khelna the forts of Bulwara, Miriad and Nagar were captured,⁷⁰ but now the rainy season set in, which he spent at Kolhapur.⁷¹ When the rains had subsided, he marched on to the great fort of Sangameshwar, "second only to Junair" which had once been subdued by *Khalaf Hasan Basri*.⁷² The army, encamped outside the wall of the great fort, so thoroughly frightened the Raya that he sent his own son to make peace with the gallant commander of the royal army, and Sangameshwar opened its gates to the *Khwaja* on 29.6.876/13.12.1471,⁷³ while the next day, on 1.7.876/14.12.1471, the Raya made his formal submission.⁷⁴

GOA SUBDUED

One object of the campaign, namely the end of the power of the recalcitrant Jakhurai, had been attained. Mahmud Gawan rightly perceived that the Rayas had at his back the power of the Raya of Vijayanagar, whose port, Goa, was only fourteen farsakh from the Sangameshwar.⁷⁵ Moreover the Muslims of the port towns in possession of Vijayanagar had been very badly treated, and quite recently as many as

ten thousand of them had been massacred in cold blood for having sold Arab horses to the Bahmani Sultan. Probably to avenge this great wrong as well as to attack what Mahmud Gawan knew was the very heart of Vijayanagar and "which was the centre of all mischief" and the real cause of the rebellious attitude of the Bahmani protectorate, the army moved on to Goa after strengthening the Bahmani position in the subdued region.⁷⁶ Mahmud Gawan describes Goa as "the envy of the islands and ports of India and famed for its fine climate, its cocoanuts and betel-nuts as well as for its springs, canals and plenty of sugarcane and betel-leaf."⁷⁷ He says that "owing to the abundance of its trees and springs it is like the mirror of the Grove of the Genii and a copy of the Cistern of Plenty (حوض کوثر)."⁷⁸ The *Khwaja* sent

120 boats by sea apart from the land forces which "consisted of the 'tigers' of Arabia and the 'lions' of Persia."⁷⁹ As'ad Khan and Kishwar Khan had preceded the main army, while his son 'Ali Maliku't Tujjar was sent as a diversion "to conquer Vijayanagar forts." It seems that while As'ad Khan and Kishwar Khan were waiting for him at Goa, the people of that city were actually sending deputations to these commanders in order to arrange for the terms of surrender.⁸⁰ Thus hardly any attempts were made to defend the city when the main army arrived, and it was captured and annexed to the kingdom of the Deccan on 20.8.876/12.1472.⁸¹

Having accomplished his purpose with such sagacity and speed the *Khwaja* now turned his steps home. He had heard that the party hostile to him at the capital was intending to bring the king to the battlefield in person, which

would not only have been a great hardship to the Sultan but would have been useless as everything that was to be accomplished had been achieved. Moreover, if the king was to come, the *Khwaja* must meet him at least half way. So "it was time to tie the saddle of circumspection on to the steed of decision" and join the Sultan's army, so that "His Majesty might with his own eyes see the fruit of the ruses of the ignorant and the consequence of the words of mean chatteringers." He goes on to say: "Although some people are greatly shocked to hear what the intriguers have to say, still there are others who think that implications of that party are not impossible."⁸² Anyhow the *Khwaja* began to retrace his steps on 1.11.876/10.4.1472 after leaving a strong garrison at Goa, reaching the capital on the day of Baqar'Id, 10.12.876/19.5.1472. He had been away in the western regions for nearly three years and now returned to Bidar with huge spoils of war and was, perhaps contrary to his expectation, received with great joy by his royal master who sent ten of his ministers to receive him. Kettledrums were ordered to be beaten for a whole week during which the king honoured him by being his guest giving him a suit of his own robes, while the Dowager Queen addressed him as her brother and did him the unique honour of actually appearing before him unveiled. His already profuse titles were further enlarged by the addition of "Lord of the Benign Council, Great Leader and Lord, Wielder of the Pen and the sword," and the forts of Goa, Londa and Kolhapur were added to his jurisdiction.⁸³

Although this was really the climax of the *Khwaja's* honour and greatness and he was now supreme in the land,

his conduct showed that he was not prone to any mean thoughts and temptation. It is related that after the departure of the king from his mansion, the *Khwaja* retired and praised the Almighty for all His kindness, wept, put on the robes of a dervish and distributed clothes, eatables, jewels, etc., to the syeds of Bidar. When Mulla Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad asked him why he was so lavishly giving away his wealth and why he was crying when he ought to be happy at such great honours showered upon him, he replied that he was doing this in order to shake off all sense of pride, temptation and other evil passions which had been engendered. During the rest of his life he always dressed very simply and spend his leisure hours in mosques or in the great college which he founded. On Fridays he would go disguised to different wards of the Capital distributing alms to the needy and the lowly and telling them that the alms were on behalf of the king and it was for His Majesty's long life and prosperity that they should all pray.⁸⁴

THIRD PHASE

Yusuf 'Adil Khan, who had recently been appointed governor of the Maharashtra provinces with its centre at Daulatabad, had soon to show his mettle. During the war with Malwa a part of the north-western province, including the territories of Virakhera and Antur, had seceded and fallen into the hands of the Maratha chiefs, the leader of whom, Jansing Rai, was holding Virakhera. The Sultan now ordered Yusuf 'Adil to proceed against these intruders. The occupants of Antur could not withstand the Bahmani arms and sued for peace, but Virakhera held out for six

months, at the end of which he begged that he and his army should be allowed to depart in safety. This request was granted and the stronghold of Virakhera was given by the king to 'Adil Khan as a jagir along with the surrounding country. Yusuf now returned to the capital laden with booty, jewels, money and elephants and was received by the king in a truly royal manner. His Majesty ordered that the *Khwaja* should entertain Yusuf for a whole week on his behalf, after which the king went to stay with the *Khwaja* himself, and allowed so many liberties to Yusuf in his own presence that it made the scions of the old aristocracy jealous of him and led further to a great rupture between the Old-comers and the New-comers.⁸⁵

FOURTH PHASE

The Maratha chiefs continued to be restive and in spite of the most solemn promises they had made, were bent on taking advantage of any opportunity that might be offered to them. With a strong man like Yusuf 'Adil at Daulatabad there was little danger from that quarter but the Goa country was still giving trouble. In the later part of 1472 it was reported that Parketa, chief of Belgam, and the Sipahdar of Bankapur⁸⁶ were about to raise an insurrection at the instigation of the Raya of Vijayanagar and were actually blockading Goa. Mahmud Gawan thereupon reported the matter to the king⁸⁷ and begged that he be allowed to lead the campaign so that he might break the back of the Vijayanagar state and end the turmoil once and for all. Perhaps influenced by the members of the old aristocracy who did not want further laurels to be won by the

Khwaja, the king led his troops in person and marched out of the capital on 15.10.877/15.3.1473. On reaching Belgam the royal army found that the fort was one of the strongest in the neighbourhood, and was built on a rock cut perpendicularly from the bottom to the top and surrounded by a deep ditch full of water. The king, finding that the immediate capture of Belgam was impossible, proceeded to besiege the fortress and ordered that another redoubt be erected opposite the old fort. Parketa, on the other hand, finding that the Bahmani army was very powerful, tried the stratagem of bribing the generals and commanders.⁸⁸ The result was that the next day the generals requested the king that Parketa was willing to lay down his arms and might be pardoned. The king was keen enough to see the ruse and said that he had been bothered too much with the affairs in the locality, and as he wished to set an example he ordered "fireworkers" to take the fortress by storm at the latest in a fortnight's time⁸⁹ and asked Mahmud Gawan to fill up the ditches. Mahmud Gawan's attempts came to naught as Parketa would remove during the night the earth which had been filled in during the day. After repeated failures, mines were sprung under the walls of the fort by Mahmud Gawan, Yusuf 'Adil and Fathu'l-lah 'Imadu'l Mulk and fired causing the walls to be breached.⁹⁰ Now the king himself led the onslaught and made an assault gaining the ramparts of the fort. Seeing that further resistance was useless, Parketa now tied a rope round his neck and placed himself on the King's mercy.⁹¹ The fortress was reduced and given to Mahmud Gawan as a jagir, while the Raya was pardoned and even made an Amir of the

kingdom.⁹² Thus was Mahmud Gawan's reputation avenged and the king clearly saw that he had no more loyal or more faithful servant than the *Khwaja*. In response to a petition of the *Khwaja*, the king now assumed the title of *Lashkari* or 'Warrior' in commemoration of the great success he had personally achieved, and it is with this title that he is known in history.⁹⁸

DOWAGER QUEEN'S DEATH

On the way back the whole army was stricken with grief over the death of *Khwaja's* patroness and helpmate, the Dowager Queen *Makhduma-i Jahan*, who had accompanied her son on this arduous campaign.⁹⁴ The king was naturally very much grieved and wrote to his ally the king of Gujarat informing him of his bereavement.⁹⁵ No one had a greater shock than the *Khwaja*, who in a letter to his brother 'Amidu'l Mulk at Mecca, says that the Queen's death was a personal loss to him, and goes on :

"Over and above the excess of weakness naturally due to age, the terrible calamity of the passing away of His Majesty's mother and the increasing burdens of government have told on me and it is difficult for me to keep the mark of obedience and acceptance on the neck of strength and ability گردن طاقت و استطاعت ... still

... I feel a duty and like the payment of a long-standing debt to put the ball of my heart on the field of the homage I owe to His Majesty's person."⁹⁶

The death of the Queen left a gap in the body politic of the land which it was impossible to fill, as she was "loved by young and old, Hindu and Muslim, for her kindness and

charitable demeanour." Never daunted, however, and knowing full well that the number of his enemies far exceeded those who called themselves friends, Mahmud went on to rid the kingdom of its ills by his far-reaching though short-lived reforms.

On his way back to the capital, Muhammad Shah Lashkari broke his journey for a few days at Kalabagh near Bijapur, the centre of Mahmud Gawan's governorate. He intended to stay there during the rainy season but was confronted by a severe drought causing what is called the Bijapur Famine in history, and so he hurried back to Bidar.

G. DECLINE AND FALL OF MAHMUD GAWAN, 1473-1481

I. CULTURAL ASPECTS

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

With the boundaries of the Bahmani kingdom now touching the Bay of Bengal in the East and the Arabian Sea in the West, it was time to reform the principles of administration which had been laid down as far back as the reign of Muhammad I a century ago. The kingdom then comprised mainly the table-land of the Deccan up to the Western Ghats, a small portion of Tilangana and the Raichur Do'ab, and the four provinces carved out by Muhammad I were Berar, Daulatabad, Ahsanabad-Gulbarga and Tilangana. The onward march of the kingdom during the century, especially during Mahmud Gawan's ministry, was phenomenal, and the Bahmani Empire now embraced the whole of the Konkan coast in the West, Goa in the South-west, the utmost limits of the Andhra-desa in the East and the

river Tungabhadra in the South, while its direct dominion included Berar and its frontier touched *Khandesh* which, will presently be seen, had become a Bahmani protectorate. In spite of this great extension, no attempt had yet been made to recast the provincial administration and the former divisions had been suffered to remain as before with vastly extended areas. The result of this incongruity was that the *tarafdar* of each province had virtually become a small potentate with his territory sometimes ready to withstand the order of the central government itself.

It was after the Maharashtra campaign that Mahmud Gawan probably began to think of reforming the provincial administration on a utilitarian and a scientific basis.⁹⁷ Instead of the vastly overgrown *atraf* he divided the empire into eight *sarlashkarships* or provinces of a moderate size. Two provinces, Gawil and Mahur, were carved out of the old 'Berar', Daulatabad and Junair (comprising most of Anandapur and the whole territory between Daman, Bassein, Goa and Belgam), formed the old 'Daulatabad', Bijapur (up to the river Hora and including Raichur and Mudgal) and Ahsanabad-Gulbarga, (from Sagar to Naldrug along with Sholapur) represented the old 'Gulbarga' while the old 'Tilangana' with new additions was divided into two charges, Rajahmundri (including Nalgunda, Masulipatam and the 'Oriya' territory)⁹⁸ and Warangal. Apart from nearly halving the old provincial areas, the *Khwaja* removed certain tracts from the jurisdiction of each of the new governors bringing them directly under the control of the king himself as the *Khasa-i Sultani* or the Royal Domain, thus putting a strong check on the power of *tarafdars* in their own provinces.

Even this was insufficient for the reformer's hand. It had been the rule almost since the foundation of the Bahmani state that there was no limit to the authority of the tarafdar over the military affairs of the province, as he could not only appoint commanders of the garrison in various parts within his territory, but was more or less at liberty to keep as many men on active duty as he liked. As he was thus the sole authority in all military matters he could save a large amount from the mansab he received from the central treasury or the jagir he possessed, even to the extent of depleting the military forces which might, therefore, not be able to withstand external dangers.

Mahmud revolutionised the whole system of military administration. He made it the rule that there should be only one fortress under the direct command of the tarafdar in the whole province, while the qil'adars or commandants of all the other forts should be appointed by the central government and be responsible to it. Having an eye on every detail of the administration, he was aware of the corruption and mismanagement caused by the system under which each commander was given a certain mansab or jagir without reference to his capability or loyalty, and although the amount had been originally fixed in proportion to the troops at the command of the mansabdar or jagirdar, the system had become very lax in the course of time and grants were made without much regard to the duty of keeping any fixed number of troops. The Khwaja reformed the plan in a thorough going manner. He made the rule that every mansabdar should be paid at the rate of a lac of huns (later raised to a lac and a quarter) annually for every 500 men kept

under arms, and if jagirs were granted in lieu of cash payments, provision was made whereby the jagirdar was to be compensated to the extent of losses incurred in the collection of rent. On the other hand if a mansabdar or jagirdar failed to maintain the stipulated number of soldiers, he had to refund the proportionate amount to the royal treasury.

Apart from these civil and military reforms, Mahmud Gawan was one of the first ministers in Mediaeval India to under a systematic measurement of land, fixing the boundaries of villages and towns and making a thorough enquiry into the assessment of revenue. Thus on the one hand, he made it easy to determine the income of the state and to furnish a record of rights forestalling Raja Todar Mal's reforms by a century, on the other hand he tried to curb the power of the nobles and thereby raise the status of the royal government at the centre.⁹⁹

True to his principle of the Balance of Power, he recruited an equal number of Old-comers—habashis and dakhnis—and New-comers—Iranian, Circasian and Central Asian immigrants—in the royal body-guard, thus definitely deviating from the one-sided policy adopted by 'Alau'd-din Ahmad II. In the same way while filling the new governorship he took care not to show any partiality towards one party against another. Thus he made Fathu'l-lah 'Imadu'l-Mulk and Malik Hasan Nizam'l-Mulk, both 'dakhnis', sarlashkars of Mahur and Gulbarga, and Prince A'zam Khan son of Sikandar Khan, sarlaskar of Warangal, handed over the charge of Daulatabad and Junair to Yusuf 'Adil Khan and Fakhru'l-Mulk Gilani respectively, and kept the province of Bijapur himself.¹⁰⁰ If we analyse this distribution of the

provinces we would perceive its judiciousness, for while four provinces were handed over to 'Old-comers' and one to A'zam Khan, (representative of the recalcitrant group in the Royal House) as a mark of goodwill, only three provinces out of a total of eight were given in charge of New-comers including one for himself.

CULTURAL CONTACTS

It was in a large measure due to the versatility and literary aptitude of Mahmud Gawan as well as to his love of learning that the Deccan came in for the closest cultural contact with the outside world. It has already been related how the tradition of welcoming the learned from foreign lands had been in existence from the Gulbarga period of the Sultanate, and Mahmud Gawan's policy in this respect was in fact the direct corollary of the policy of Firoz and his successors. What Mahmud Gawan did was to intensify these cultural contacts more than ever before. He himself was a scholar of some merit, and by his great treasure of vocabulary, wit and knowledge, he was widely recognised as one of the most prominent Persian writers of the period.¹⁰⁰ By the power of his pen he left no stone unturned to make the Deccan known in other countries, and the collection of his letters, the *Riyazu'l-Insha*, testifies to his sincerity and eagerness in this direction.

Among those with whom the *Khwaja* was in constant communication and the closest touch was Maulana Nuru'd-din 'Abdu'r-Rahman Jami, who was kept informed of the progress of Bahmani arms, and when the *Khwaja* heard that he was thinking of going on a pilgrimage to Mecca he

begged him to come to the Deccan *en-route*.¹⁰¹ We find him writing to the celebrated biographer Sharafu'd-din 'Ali al-Yazdi, the sufi saint *Khwaja* 'Ubaidu'l-lah el-Ahrar, Jalalu'd-din Dawani and a number of others well-known in the realm of knowledge.¹⁰² We also find the Deccan making liberal provision for the 'Ulama of Turkey and Iran.

Mahmud Gawan was also in constant communication with the most renowned in the field of Islamic politics and did all he could to raise the land he had made his own in the estimation of his contemporaries. We have communications which passed between him and Muhammad Shah Bahmani on the one hand and Muhammad II, conqueror of Constantinople, on the other where homage is paid to the great Sultan as the *Khalifa* of Islam and an attempt made to build a relationship between the lands of the Deccan and Turkey on a firm foundation. What is perhaps even more remarkable is the arrival of an accredited envoy of Muhammad the Conqueror in the Deccan possibly carrying the only letter we possess from the Ottoman Sultan to his namesake king of the Deccan.¹⁰³ Besides the Sultan of Turkey he was also writing to the Sultans of Gilan, 'Iraq and Egypt as well as to the rulers and ministers of Gujarat, Jaunpur and Malwa, and there is not one letter written by Mahmud Gawan on his own behalf or on behalf of his master in which he does not extol the greatness, might or learning of his adopted country or the dynasty which he deemed it an honour to serve. Maulana Jami, himself "the acknowledged leader of the learned of the epoch" was greatly impressed by the place which the Deccan had acquired and says in an ode in praise of Mahmud Gawan that his presence in the land had made it "the

envy of Rum itself."¹⁰⁴

§ 2. POLITICAL ASPECTS

TILANGANA AND ORISSA

The Bijapur famine lasted two years during which time the Deccan, both within the borders of the Bahmani state and without, was too much engrossed with the immediate welfare of both man and beast to achieve anything of importance. At the end of two lean years, when times were easier (that is, about 879/-1475) news came from the eastern provinces that the officials of Kondavidu had been treating the subjects in a cruel manner and being hard pressed, they had revolted, murdered the officials and invited Hamir Rai to put himself at the head of the rebels. Hamir, well aware of the might of the Bahmanis, sent word to Purushotam of Orissa offering his services in a joint effort to rid the country of the Bahmanis and telling him that the moment was doubly opportune owing to the recent famine in the Deccan and the consequent difficulty of resistance on the part of the Sultan's forces. Not only was an offensive alliance signed by the parties but it was made the centre of a great confederacy of the rulers of Orissa and Oriya (or Eastern Tilangana) including the chiefs of the country round about Jajnar, and this united army crossed the border forcing Nizamul-Mulk to retreat to Wazirabad. On hearing this the king ordered that the army should proceed to Malikpur near Ashtur, and on Mahmud Gawan's advice he himself commanded the forces marching on to Rajahmandri.¹⁰⁵ The estuary on which the town is situated seemed to the confederate forces too wide to be crossed and

on the approach of the Sultan's Army Hamir Rai retired to the fortress of Kondavidu.¹⁰⁶ The Sultan now left Mahmud Gawan and the child Crown Prince Mahmud¹⁰⁷ at Rajahmundri. Accompanied by Shah Muhibhu'l-lah, he went in pursuit of Purushotam who was now encamped with seven lacs of foot soldiers and five hundred elephants on the banks of the Godavari. He had dug a huge defensive trench filled with water and built a wall on the further side with pieces of ordnance mounted on it.¹⁰⁸ The king sent Darya Khan to the rear of the enemy's forces which was put to flight pursued by a part of the Bahmani army. Purushotam now seems to have laid down his arms and sued for peace which was granted to him.

Peace did not, however last very long, and in the later part of 882/-1478 the Sultan had to lead another expedition into the very heart of Orissa forcing the Raya to leave his territory. What had happened was that an Oriya officer of the Sultan, Bhimaraya by name, had revolted, captured Kondapalli and actually invited Purushotam to invade the Bahmani territory. Muhammad was in Orissa for six months, and when time came for his departure he sent for Crown Prince Mahmud and Khwaja Mahmud Gawan in order to leave them in charge of the territory which he wished to annex to the already vast Bahmani Empire. When the Raya heard this he was greatly alarmed and communicated his willingness to pay homage to the king, offering to lay down his arms and sending him costly presents and a large number of elephants. The king accepted the homage offered by the Raya and confirmed him as the ruler of his patrimony. On his way back he came across on Orissan fortress the garrison of which

preferred to fight rather than to lay down its arms and the Sultan had to lay siege to it. When Purushotam heard of this he sent his profuse apologies to Muhammad Shah begging him to take possession of the fort and, if he liked, to give it back to him as his own vassal.¹⁰⁹

When the Sultan returned to his headquarters after this successful campaign, Mahmud Gawan requested him to adopt the honorific title of *Ghazi* or 'hero', which he did. He stayed at Rajahmundri for about two years¹¹⁰ and strengthened the frontier forts. When he returned to the capital he distributed titles and bounties to the brave soldiers who had fought by his side during the prolonged campaign.

KHANDESH

On Muhammad's return 'Adil II of *Khandesh* paid a complimentary visit to him and was right royally received at Muhammadabad-Bidar. We find that the Bahmani coins were current in 'Adil's country and the Bahmani Sultan was mentioned in the Friday prayers right through *Khandesh*, so that far from being hostile to the Deccan as it had been not so long ago, it had virtually become a protectorate of the Bahmani ruler. When the ruler of *Khandesh* was at the Bahmani capital the city was given to pleasure and rejoicing and no stone was left unturned to make the visit of the honoured friend a success.¹¹¹

KONDAVIDU AND VIJAYANAGAR

It was not long afterwards that the Eastern provinces again came into the limelight. It seems that in 885/1480

the army stationed at Kondavidu mutinied and made common cause with the population which had put itself under the protection of Narasimha who was the virtual ruler of Vijayanagar and held almost undivided sway over the eastern coast of the peninsula south of the Krishna. The Sultan, therefore, set out again for the East in Ramazan 885/-November 1480, and pitching his camp at the base of the citadel of Kondavidu ordered its siege. It was only after the garrison had laid down its arms that the people petitioned the Sultan that the real cause for the rising was their unhappy condition as they had been treated very harshly by greedy officials.¹¹² They said that they craved as much as possible for the mitigation of hardship and cruelty, and it was only when they were at their wit's end that they behaved thus. On reading the petition the Sultan pardoned the rebels and gave over the citadel to Nizamu'l-Mulk granting him the high-sounding titles of Musnad-i 'Ali and Ulugh-i A'zam, while Narasimha had to retire to the south-east.¹¹³

The king now faced the South in order to punish Narasimha. Before leaving the capital he enquired of Mahmud Gawan as to who should be appointed to be the governor of the newly annexed territory of Rajahmundry, to which the minister replied that no one was better suited for the office than Nizamu'l-Mulk. Nizamu'l-Mulk however, wanted to govern the whole of Tilangana which he had so inefficiently held, while, as we have mentioned above, it had already been decided to bisect the old province of Tilangana and hand over the charge of Warangal to Prince A'zam, son of Humayun's cousin Sikandar Khan. Nizamu'l Mulk, there-

fore, with a pang in his heart, begged the king to allow him to appoint his son Malik Ahmad to act as his deputy at Rajahmundri in order that he himself might have the honour of accompanying the king in person on his expedition. Malik Ahmad had married a member of the royal harem and had, therefore, become a favourite of the Sultans. It was therefore not difficult for Nizamu'l-Mulk to persuade him to grant his request, although it was not to the liking of Mahmud Gawan that an important charge like Rajahmundri should be so disposed of.¹¹⁴ As will soon be seen, this was one of the links in the chain which brought about *Khwaja's* downfall and death.

Anyhow, the king marched nearly forty *farsakh* into the Vijayanagar territory right up to the great fort of Nellor¹¹⁵ pursuing Narasimha who took to flight at the approach of the royal army. The Sultan sent an ultimatum to him in the shape of a farman in which he demanded that Narasimha should lay down his arms otherwise he would be annihilated, at which he surrendered to the Sultan unconditionally sending him priceless presents consisting of money, jewellery and elephants.

While at Nellor the king heard that there was a great store of riches at Kanchi which was only another fifty *farsakh* south wards. He made up his mind to capture that stronghold as well and ordered Nizamu'l-Mulk and *Khan-i A'zam* 'Adil Khan to accompany him, along with one hundred and fifty picked men from the Royal Bodyguard and ten thousand horses. After a forced march of thirty-six hours he arrived at Kanchi on 11.1.886/12.3.1481. The stronghold was reduced, and as this was the southernmost

point ever reached by the Bahmanis, spécial importance was attached to the event and farmans were issued to all parts of the realm making this known as the greatest achievement of the *Ghazi* Sultan. On the way home the king halted at Kondapalli reducing Masulipatam on the way.¹¹⁶

CONSPIRACY AGAINST MAHMUD GAWAN

As has been mentioned above, the party inimical to *Khwaja* Mahmud Gawan hated the administrative reforms which had recently been promulgated by him, and although he knew that he was playing with fire he also knew that whatever he did was for the greater good of the kingdom and would contribute to its further strength and efficiency. This party had all along been poisoning the king's mind.¹¹⁷ There was one in the royal entourage, Yusuf 'Adil, who was like a son to the *Khwaja* and who always informed him of any untoward happening among the court, but he had this time gone southward along with the Sultan while the *Khwaja* had remained at Nellor with the Crown Prince. A conspiracy was, however, being hatched at Kondapalli, the prime movers of which were Zarifu'l-Mulk dakhni and Miftah habashi, both of whom *Khwaja* had promoted but were now in deadly enmity with him.¹¹⁸ As they perceived that the habashi secretary who kept the *Khwaja*'s private seal was the person who might most easily be duped, they loaded him with costly presents, jewellery, horses etc. One evening when the habashi was out of his senses owing to over-indulgence in drink they showed him a folded blank sheet saying that it was a petition for the reprieve of an innocent friend containing the seals of a number of ministers and high offi-

cials, and all they wanted was that he should affix the *Khwaja's* seal as well.¹¹⁹ When the seal had been affixed, the two plotters waited till Nizamu'l-Mulk's return, when the three forged a letter purporting to be from the *Khwaja* to Purushotam of Orissa inviting him to invade the Deccan. The gist of the letter was as follows :—

“Although I have been brought up on the salt of my royal master, still if you swear over all that you hold sacred according to your own religious belief, that you would agree to partition the Deccan between you and myself, I would promise to help you to the best of my ability. As all authority, financial and civil, rests with me and I have full control over matters of policy as well as those relating to the army, you can well understand that there is nothing which is outside my purview and I can do what I like in order to fulfil our joint purpose.”¹²⁰

It was arranged that this forged letter should be produced before Muhammad Shah on his return by Zarifu'l-Mulk and Miftah when Nizamu'l Mulk was present at the court. The Sultan was full of indignation and felt that the reports which had been dinned into his ears so long were fully corroborated by the document. He therefore made up his mind to do away with the *Khwaja* once for all and immediately summoned him. His friends had somehow or other got an inkling of what was in Muhammad's mind and tried to dissuade him from going in the royal presence at least that day begging him to make some kind of personal excuse, but he insisted on honouring the royal summons saying that his beard had grown gray in the service of His Majesty's father, the

late Humayun Shah, and it was well that it should be coloured red in the reign of his present master. Some of his friends even suggested that he should fly over the Gujarat border where he was sure to be well received, to which he retorted that he was no criminal and as his conscience was perfectly clear that he had done nothing either against the king or his adopted country, there was no reason why he should fly away.

THE KHWAJA'S END

When the *Khwaja* arrived in the royal presence the Sultan asked what punishment he proposed for a servant who was a traitor to his liege lord, to which the *Khwaja* immediately replied that the punishment of such a one could only be death. The king now showed him the script and his seal affixed to it. The *Khwaja* answered in all humility that there was no doubt that the seal was his own but he knew absolutely nothing about the script, and repeated the Qur'anic verse *سبحانك هذا بهتان عظيم*. The King left the room ordering his slave, Jauhar, to finish the deed. As he was leaving, the condemned man respectfully warned him that the murder of an old man like himself might not be difficult, but (perhaps musing on the consequences of the loss of the political equilibrium which was bound to take place when one particular party got all the power after his removal from the scene) it might lead to disorder in the realm and the loss of royal prestige itself. Muhammad Shah, drunk as he was, left without paying any attention to these but too prophetic remarks, and Jauhar now faced the aged *Khwaja* with his glittering sword. The old man immediately knelt

down praising the Almighty for thus granting him the great boon of martyrdom, and as the slave raised his sword to strike him he repeated the Islamic creed and the worst was done.¹²³

This was on 5.2.886/5.4.1481¹²⁴ when the *Khwaja* was 73.¹²⁵ It is extraordinary that the dead man had, in a way, predicted the exact manner of his death in a qasidah composed in praise of his master a short time before his death, in which he had said that no one should fear the sword of the king, for it had become even as the life-giving nectar when it touched some one's neck.¹²⁶ A number of chronograms were later composed on the death of Mahmud Gawan, the best known being by Sami'i *بے گنہ محمود گوان شد شهید* "the guiltless Mahmud Gawan suffered martyrdom."¹²⁷

D. LAST DAYS OF THE SULTAN 1481-1482

THE KING'S CONDUCT AFTER THE MINISTER'S MURDER

The king was fully aware of the popularity and influence which Mahmud Gawan had exercised in all sections of the population, and he thought it prudent to issue a lengthy farman on the very day of the murder in which he gave his reasons for committing the wanton act. Some extracts from this would be of some use for understanding the political atmosphere in which the murder was committed. The king said :

"On Our return from Kanchi We came to know that *Khwaja-i Jahan* did not like the deference with which We treated some of Our courtiers, and becoming jealous of them, went so far as to set himself against Our own person.

Even while Our officers were fighting against the enemy he chose to send a letter to that most wicked of men, the Raya of Orissa, which purported to be an invitation for an alliance between them. Both parties had evidently forgotten that it was God Himself who always supported His Vice-gerents on earth, and in spite of the quickness of his intellect the *Khwaja* failed to perceive that whenever anybody wore the cap of curiosity and pride and set himself against his liege lord, the days of the cap as well as of the head that wore it were indeed numbered. . . . When We ascended the throne We raised him to the dignity which had become the envy of all Our nobles and had actually put thirty thousand villages under his sway. This made him so proud that the Moon of the egotism of his ministry which had borrowed its light from the Sun of Our Empire dared to come in Our way and he tried to join forces with Our enemies who were also the enemies of Islam. We were therefore forced to hand him as well as his friends over to the executioner."¹²³

The *Khwaja's* friends referred to here were Sa'id Khan Gilani and other nobles who were said to have requested him to fly to Gujarat, and they were forthwith executed. More than this, the king gave permission to all and sundry to plunder the late minister's private property.¹²⁹ Possibly because he thought that there must still be plenty of money in the coffers of Mahmud Gawan, he called his private treasurer, Nizamu'd-din Ahmad Gilani and asked him how much bullion and jewels he had in his possession. On his knees, the treasurer replied that the *Khwaja* possessed two

distinct treasuries, the 'Treasury of the King' and the 'Treasury of the Poor'. The former contained royal horses, elephants and the wherewithal for them as well as for the guards, and it now contained one thousand laris and three thousand hons,¹³⁰ while the 'Treasury of the Poor,' which was the *Khwaja's* personal property, contained but three hundred laris. He told the sovereign that the *Khwaja* always deducted the amount needed for the upkeep of the forces under him from the income of the jagir and sent it to the 'Treasury of the King' for disbursement, spending what was left on the deserving poor, never a fils on himself. Thirty years before, when he came out to India, he had brought 40,000 laris with him and had this amount invested in trade and commerce, purchasing commodities and selling them in foreign lands; it was out of this income he thus received that he spent 12 laris daily on his own person (including dress, food and other necessities of life) and sent monetary help to his aged mother and other deserving relations who happened to be away. The treasurer told the king that if there was one lari more in the treasury than what he had described, the king was at liberty to hack him to pieces. Muhammad was greatly touched at this manifest proof of the *Khwaja's* integrity and turned to the members of the opposite faction. They now suggested that the bulk of the treasures belonging to the dead man must be at Bidar; but on enquiry it was found that all that the *Khwaja* possessed he kept with him and that there was nothing of any value belonging to him at the capital.

The treasurer, loyal as he was to his departed master, now saw signs of the turn of the tide and begged the Sultan to

make enquiries whether Mahmud Gawan was such a traitor as he had been depicted and to find out who had carried the alleged traitorous letter to Purushotam of Orissa. The King now saw a ray of light in the darkness which had surrounded him so far and asked the *Khwaja's* accusers to produce the man who had conveyed the letter, which, of course, they could not. He now went into the zenana and related the whole story to his elder sister Hamida Sultan who, like him, was the daughter of Mahmud Gawan's protectress, the late Queen *Makhduma-i Jahan*. He had pangs of remorse for what he had done and sent the dead man's coffin in state to Bidar, ordering the youthful Crown Prince Mahmud to follow it thither the third day.¹³¹

WHY THE KINGDOM FELL AFTER MAHMUD GAWAN

It is hardly necessary here to depict Mahmud Gawan as he appeared to his contemporaries, for we have already seen him as a general, as an administrator, as a minister, as a man of learning and as a private person.¹³² There is, however, just one point which may be discussed here and that is whether Mahmud Gawan did not himself bring about the downfall of the kingdom.¹³³ This theory, if it may be called one, is based on the eminence, which the Bahmani kingdom had attained during the *Khwaja's* ministry, followed by its sudden decline immediately after his death. Those who support this view forget the feelings of intense loyalty which the *Khwaja* always had for the Sultans of the Deccan from the time of Humayun for whom he wrote a beautiful laudatory *qasidah* of thirty-eight lines,¹³⁴ right up to Muhammad III whom he extolled a few weeks before the fatal sword

struck his neck,¹³⁵ and for the regard he had for Humayun's consort who was his patroness and who considered him as her own brother.¹³⁶ This loyalty to the throne and to his adopted country is shown time and again in the letters he wrote to friends at home and abroad and is also expressed by his words on the fateful day of his murder, all of which prove as nothing else would, his real feelings towards the Bahmani state. There is not one act of his right through the thirty odd years of his service in India which can be construed by one jot to prove that he was in any way disloyal or traitorous in his conduct.

If this view is correct it may be asked what then was the reason of the disintegration of the kingdom immediately after the king's death if it was not some crack in the foundation of the state itself which the minister consciously or unconsciously left over. The clue is found not in what he did but in what he failed to accomplish. We have seen how the policy of Firoz and Ahmad I was to encourage the influx of overseas men into the Deccan, and it soon became a major problem in the reign of the weak-minded 'Alau'd-din Ahmad II who moved the pendulum of State first towards the New-comers according to the tradition of his father, and then towards the 'Old-comers, with the resulting massacre of whichever party lost the favour of the king. As a reaction to this vacillation which cost the kingdom so much in prestige, Humayun initiated the policy of a balance of power between the two groups, but his attempt was nipped in the bud and he was caluminated such as no other king had ever been before. His sagacious queen, and with her Mahmud Gawan, continued that policy, and the whole political life of the minister was spent with that purpose in view.

After Mahmud Gawan's death there was no one in the kingdom who wished to revert to his system, either for fear that he might also fall like him or else owing to the purely selfish reason of gaining ground for himself and his party. The political equilibrium which had been created was rudely upset and the new government became subservient to the interests of one party, with the result that the land fell back to a state of nature so far as the two political groups were concerned. Another Mahmud Gawan might have stemmed the tide of egotism, intrigue and disorder, but as no such person of faith and integrity was forthcoming, the kingdom fell by the first blast of adverse wind like a house of cards.

THE LAST YEAR OF MUHAMMAD'S REIGN

The signs of the coming storm were soon manifest and this storm was in its turn to produce younger states which were to maintain the independence of a divided Deccan for another couple of centuries. Full of remorse for what he had perpetrated, Muhammad III wished to move on to Bidar as soon as possible. On the day Prince Mahmud left Kondapalli for the capital with the late minister's coffin, news was brought that Fathu'l-lah 'Imadu'l-Mulk and *Khudawand Khan Habashi*, commanders of the army of Berar and Mahur respectively, had moved about four miles from the royal camp, and now they sent messages to the King—messages which were too ominously frank—that when a man like the *Khwaja* could be treacherously removed they were afraid lest a similar fate should befall them, and that they would not come to the King's presence till the arrival of Yusuf 'Adil

from the south. Yusuf was thereupon immediately informed of this new development, but on his arrival at Kondapalli he also encamped near Fathu'l-lah and *Khudawand Khan*. These three were now strong enough to enforce their own conditions, and at their dictation the Sultan was made to award the tarafdari of Bijapur to Yusuf 'Adil with *Mallu Khan*, *Fakhru'l-Mulk*, *Darya Khan* and others as his lieutenants, while 'Imadu'l-Mulk and *Khudawand Khan* were confirmed in their own provinces. At the same time the King continued to shower favours on Nizamu'l-Mulk who was made Prime Minister with the offices of Wakil and Peshwa, and his friends and associates, *Qiwamu'l-Mulk* the Elder and *Qiwamu'l-Mulk* the Younger were given the governments of *Rajahmundri* and *Warangal*. When the Sultan at last proceeded to Bidar, Yusuf 'Adil, 'Imadu'l-Mulk and *Khudawand Khan* followed him, but instead of entering the capital they pitched their camps outside the walls of the city and after staying there a few days left for their respective charges.¹³⁹

On his arrival at Bidar, the Sultan dreamt that he saw the *Khwaja's* mother begging the Apostle of Islam to punish him for the murder of his innocent son and the Apostle ordering the Sultan's immediate execution. The Sultan woke up in a terrified state and knew that his days were numbered.¹⁴⁰ Six months passed and, still full of anguish, he intimated that he wished to tour the western provinces ordering 'Imadu'l-Mulk and *Khudawand Khan* to accompany him. The two complied with these orders but took care to keep at a safe distance from the royal cavalcade and only

saluted him when he appeared in public. When the royal party arrived at Belgam news arrived that Virupaksha of Vijayanager was sending an army to retake Goa. Strange though it may seem, the King, who had proved his mettle in so many battle-fields refused to proceed any further and returned instead to Firozabad ordering Yusuf 'Adil to relieve Goa with the help of an army composed of both Dakhnis and Afaqis, Imadu'l-Mulk and *Khudawand Khan* did not accompany the King but returned to their own provincial capitals.¹⁴¹

Muhammad Shah, though still young, was aware that matters were not progressing in the right direction in the kingdom. On the other hand it was evident that the shock which his own person had experienced was very great. So in order to obviate the possibility of disorder after him, he issued a royal edict formally appointing his son Mahmud as the heir to the kingdom and got it signed by the members of the aristocracy as well as by the representatives of learning. Since he knew that he had not long to live he tried to drown his anxieties in excessive drink and immoderate habits. Strange as it may seem, he died on the exact date of the murder of Mahmud Gawan on 5.2.886/27.3.1482 at the early age of twenty-nine lunar years.¹⁴²

THE KINGDOM ON MUHAMMAD'S DEATH

Muhammad's reign is one of the tragedies in the history of the Deccan. It saw the greatest triumphs of *Khwaja-i Jahan Mahmud Gawan*, and so long as this minister had control over the affairs of the kingdom the Bahmani state attained heights of prosperity which it had never reached before. But with the death of the Dowager Queen, the

king's weak temperament was seen in all its gloomy aspects, and the martyrdom of his erstwhile preceptor was the result. It has already been noted that the reign saw the continuation of a policy of equilibrium between the two great political groups of the state and this, coupled with the minister's murder, led to remarkable consequences. Mahmud Gawan was succeeded by Nizamu'l-Mulk, and although his party had now the monopoly of power, still the danger to life and honour loomed large and he felt it incumbent to ally himself with some of his erstwhile opponents. We also see 'Imadu'l Mulk, a dakhni and *Khudawand Khan*, a habashi making common cause with Yusuf 'Adil an afaqi, and a joint army consisting both of New-comers and Old-comers being sent against the Raya of Vijayanagar. We also see Fakhru'l-Mulk a dakhni, preferring to go to Bijapur along with Yusuf 'Adil. This alliance of the two great political groups was probably the dream of the late minister which he was not permitted to see realised in his life time.

Unfortunately, however, there was no one left in the kingdom who could control these new forces and lead them towards a constructive end for the strength and betterment of the state; and all who had any foresight saw that the kingdom was on the brink of an abyss. It was known that the King was fast ending his own life in debauchery and drink and his heir was more or less of the same age as he himself had been when he had ascended the throne. In his own infancy the state had been ruled by three of the most stalwart personages of the Deccan, while now, with Muhammad's approaching end matters were sure to deteriorate in spite of the care which he had taken to get his heir accepted by all in

his own lifetime. There was no one to keep the centrifugal forces in check which were fast at work to get the better of the tottering empire. Patriotism and loyalty there were none, and the weakness of the centre and strong unscrupulous counter-forces led only one way, towards dissolution of the Empire into petty states.

NOTES

1. Full name in *Fer. I.* 347, as well as on the coins, for which see Speight *op. cit.*, Islamic Culture, 1935, p. 301. *Munt. III*, 102, seems to be right that Ahmad and Muhammad were twin brothers.
2. *Fer. I.* 347, has nine while *Bur.*, 107, has ten.
3. Later appointed Qaziu'l-Quzat or Chief Justice; this is how Mahmud Gawan addresses him in *Riyaz.*, xc, 272. The name, Sharaf-d-din is found in letter I, 185.
4. *Bur.* 108.
5. *Fer. I.*, 347
6. *Bur.* 109; *Munt. III.* 102, says that the King was 15 at the time of his accession.
7. *Fer. I.*, 348.
8. For the actual words of this remarkable address see *Bur.* p. III; compare this with the address delivered by Humayun Shah at the time of his accession; above, Ch. 9
9. In quoting the gist of the speech *Munt. III*, 103, calls the Khwaja 'Alau'd-din, a title not found elsewhere. Titles in *Fer. I.*, 348. Probably it was now that the Khwaja's son, 'Ali, was made Maliku't-Tujjar.
10. *Riyaz.* lxix, 236, lxxxix, 267
11. *Fer. I.*, 351.
12. *Fer. I.*, 352.
13. See later.
14. See *Mudhol Sansthanchya Ghorpare Gharancha Itihas* by Mr. D. V. Apte, Poona, where the Farman is

- reproduced in original along with its Marathi Translation.
15. *Parenda*, in the 'Usmanabad district, Hyderabad State; 18°16' N., 76°9' E.
 16. *Yazdani*, *The Antiquities of Bidar*, Calcutta, 1917, pp. 210-22; See also Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, 267; *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, III, 42-46.
 17. Rafi'u'd-din Shirazi, *Tazkiratu'l-Muluk*, Asafiyah, Tarikh, 1018, fol. 12, b.
 18. *Fer. I.*
 19. *Jami* (12-11-1414—9-11-1492) was one of the most renowned poets of Iran. There are seven letters addressed to him in *Riyaz*. We have also a number of letters from Jami to Mahmud Gawan contained in the collection of the former's letters named *Insha-i Jami*. O. U. Library Mss. 1117, in which he extols the *Khwaja* who had made India "the envy of Rum itself" and is sorry that owing to the difficulties of the journey he cannot come to India. He says:

نیست در شهر شما از بهر منع راهدان
 شهر بیدر راجنان در بست بزویم قضا
 از گران جانی بیارم سویت آمدورنه
 دفع شوق از پیش روی دفع اضداد از قضا

Jalalu'd-din Dawani, author of a large number of works including the famous *Akhlaq-i Jalali*, 1427-1503. He dedicated his *Shawakilu'l-Hur*, a commentary of Shaikh Shihabu'd-din Suharawardi's *Hayakilu'n-Nur* to the *Khwaja*. This book is in Asafiyah Library, Mss. Arab. Phil., 66.

Sadru'd-din Rawasi, died at Juwain 25.3.1469; *Ha-bibu's-Siyar* III, p. 197.

See also Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan*, 184 ff; 'Abdu'l-Jabbar, *Mahbub*, 100, where reference is made to a certain *Tarikh-i Mahmud Shahi* by Shamsu'd-din Muhammad Shirazi.

20. "This lofty College with praiseworthy (محمود) foundations.
Has been erected as the Ka'bah of men of purity;
Lo! the sign of Divine approval, that the chronogram
Is derived from the Qur'anic verse, *O Lord, accept it from us.*"
These lines are said to have been composed by Sami'i by Fer. I. 352 and by Muhammad Badr Shirazi by Bur. 119.
21. "Peace be unto you that are good, so enter it for ever."
22. H. Goetz, *Indo-Muslim Architecture in its Islamic Setting*, Journal of the University of Bombay, January 1940.
23. *Travels of Athanasius Nikitin of Tver* included in Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hakluyt Society, London 1857, pp. 8-30. Nikitin spent many months at Bidar living as a Persian and observing all the fasts and festivals as any Muslim would, and thus had ample opportunities of looking at life of the capital at close quarters. *Taz.*, 13 a, says that Bidar was 5 or 6 farsakh in length and breadth and this agrees with the local tradition that the city extended as far as the Khanapur nine miles away northwards.
24. *Major*, p. 13. In the later part of the paragraph Nikitin says that the place was 40 kos or about 65 miles from the city; probably in the earlier part of the narrative, 'City' means the kingdom, and the reference is in all probability to Gulbarga.
25. As will be seen in the next section all this entourage was kept by the minister in trust for the state, and in spite of the great heights attained by him, he lived on his personal money much as a man of the middle class might do.
28. *Riyaz.*, 'to Shaikh Dawud el-Mandavi', lxxv, 246.
29. *Fer.*, I. 348.
30. *Fathabad*, another name for Daulatabad; *Bur.*, 17.
31. *Riyaz.*, xii, 67. By Asir is here meant the whole of Khandesh of which the great fortress of Asingarh is still a prominent landmark near Burhanpur, the

- erstwhile capital of *Khandesh*. The alliance with Gujarat was a part of the policy of the encirclement of Malwa adopted by Mahmud Gawan along with the alliance with Husain Shah the ambitious Sharqi King of Jaunpur; see *Riyaz.*, xxiii, 113 and xxiv, 115. *Asirgarh* in the Burhanpur tehsil, Nimar district, Madhya Pradesh State 21°28'N., 76°18'E.
32. *Fer.* I, 348; *Bur.* 109, says that the campaign was undertaken in 870/1466.
 33. Thus in *Fer.* I 348, *Bur.* 109, says that it was the Hindu chief of that fort 'مقدم آن حصار' who stabbed the Deccan Commander, while *Riyaz.*, (to 'Amidu'l-Mulk, xvi, 47) has it that the deed was done by a non-Muslim whose sons were being led away to prison.
 34. Thus in *Bur.*, 109, *Fer.* says that this 'Adil Khan was Yusuf 'Adil Khan, and he and his associate Darya Khan were Nizamu'l Mulk's brethren of the Path,' i.e., belonged to the same Sufic fraternity.
 35. *Riyaz.*, 'to 'Amidu'l-Mulk, xvi, 87.
 36. *Ibid.*, 'Muhammad Shah Bahmani to Mahmud Shah *Khilji*,' lxxvi, 247. *Shadiabad-Mandu*, or Mandogarh, now in Madhya Bharat, 22°21'N., 75°26'E.
 37. *Bur.* 109; *Fer.* 348.
 38. *Riyaz.*, 'To Shaikh Daud al-Mandavi' xix, 94 and lxxxiv, 256. also see *Munt.* III, 104, 105.
 39. *Riyaz.*, 'To Shaikh Daud el-Mandavi,' xix, 94; see also *Munt.*, III, 105.
 40. *Ibid.*, lxxiv, 130 b.
 41. *Riyaz.*, 'Muhammad Shah Bahmani to Mahmud Shah Gujarati,' xviii, 93.
 42. *Ibid.*, lxxxv, 261.
 43. *Fer.* I, 349.
 44. *Riyaz.*, 'Muhammad Shah Bahmani to Mahmud Shah *Khilji*,' lxxxv, 261.
 45. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I. 307 relying on Tiruvatur inscription. This should be read with Aiyangar,

Sources of Vijayanagar History, 90-102, which Banerji considers unreliable but without much argument.

46. *Bur.*, 117. 'The dead Raya' could only have been Kapileshwar, as his immediate successor, Purushotam reigned right up to 1497; see Banerji, I, 305. Banerji does not believe either *Fer.* or *Bur.*, for, says he, the Sultan could not take an active interest in the affairs of far off Orissa as he was only 18 and much too young! Of course the argument is puerile as a young man of 18 is ordinarily not too young to understand things, and then we see Muhammad's predecessor Ahmad taking part not only in politics but in active fighting at the age of 8 and 9. Banerji further says that Mangal Rai's usurpation is a myth; but then we find on p. 321 a reference to a stone slab found in a field near Kondapalli where Purushotam is styled as Hamvira, which corroborates at least one part of the story as given in our Persian authorities. *Annual Report of the Asst. Arch. Super. for Epigraphy, Southern Circle for 1914*, p. 18, No. 156, 105 paragraph 42. This is further corroborated by an Orissan tradition mentioned by Banerji on p. 320 that Purushotam was not the eldest but the second son of Kapileshwar, so it is very probable that there was a war of succession. Taking everything into account by reading is that after Kapileshwar's death his second son Hamvira sought the help of the Bahmani Sultan and succeeded in ascending the throne as Purushotam. I think Burhan is correct in the date, 875 H. I do not consider Sewell and Aiyangar's argument convincing that Purushotam ascended the throne in 1466, as this would put the march of the Raya to Kanchi in 1469 in Purushotam's reign which is very unlikely; see Sewell and Aiyangar, 226, relying on *E. R.* 1906-07, p. 567. Moreover Banerji I, 306, refers to an inscription in the temple of Jagannath at Puri dated 12.4.1470 which says that it was incised in the year of Purushotam's accession; *J.A.S.B.* 1893, pp. 91-92.
47. *Fer.* I. 352.

48. *Bur.*, 117; *Fer.* I, 351.
49. See note 46 for Hamvira.
50. *Khelna*, modern Vishalgarh now in the Bombay State
 $16^{\circ}54'N.$, $73^{\circ}47'E.$
Sangameshwar (Sangbeshar of the Persian authorities)
in the Ratnagiri district of the Bombay State,
 $17^{\circ}18'N.$, $73^{\circ}33'E.$
51. *Fer.*, 349, says that 300 boats were sent annually.
52. *Riyaz.*, 'to Maulana Jami', xxxviii, 152.
53. *Ibid.*, 'to Kamalu'd-din Rumi', xlii, 173.
54. *Munt.*, III, 105.
55. *Bur.*, 113.
Hubli, headquarters of a taluqa in Dharwar district of
the Bombay State; $50^{\circ}20'N.$, $75^{\circ}9'E.$
56. *Fer.*, 349. Sherwani, *Khawaja-i Jahan Mahmud Gawan's
Campaigns in the Maharashtra*, First Indian History
Congress, Poona, 1934.
57. *Bur.*, 114.
Kolhapur, now headquarters of a district in the Bom-
bay State; $16^{\circ}42'N.$, $74^{\circ}16'E.$
Karhad, headquarters of a Taluqa in the Satara dis-
trict of the Bombay State; $17^{\circ}17'N.$, $74^{\circ}11'E.$
Junair or Junnar, headquarters of a taluqa in the
Poona district; $19^{\circ}12'N.$, $73^{\circ}53'E.$
Chakan, in the Kher taluqa of the Poona district;
 $18^{\circ}45'N.$, $73^{\circ}32'E.$
Chaul, in the 'Alibagh taluqa of the Kolaba district,
Bombay State; $18^{\circ}34'N.$, $72^{\circ}55'E.$
Wai, headquarters of taluqa in the Satara district of
the Bombay State; $17^{\circ}57'N.$, $73^{\circ}54'E.$
Man, name of a taluqa in the Satara district between
 $17^{\circ}27'N.$ and $17^{\circ}36'N.$ and between $74^{\circ}17'E.$ and
 $74^{\circ}53'E.$; the taluqa is named after the river Man and
is centred in Dahiwadi.
58. *Bur.*, 115.
59. *Riaz.*, 'to a Bahmani wazir'; xlviii, 183.
Raingna, a small town in the former state of Sawant-
wadi, now in Bombay State.
60. *Ibid.*, 'to Maulana Abu Sa'id'; xxx, 122.

61. *Ibid.*, 'to the Sultan of Gilan'; xxxix, 157.
62. *Machal*, a lofty hill, now in the Rajapur subdivision of the former Ratnagiri state, separated from Vishalgarh Fort by a narrow gorge.
63. *Riyaz.*, 'to Sultan Muhammad of Gilan'; xxxix, 157.
64. *Ibid.*, 'to the Sultan of Gilan'; xiii, 70.
65. *Ibid.*, 'to a learned friend'; lxx, 238.
66. *Ibid.*, 'to a minister', xlvi, 180.
67. *Ibid.*, 'to Sadr Jahan', xi, 272.
68. *Ibid.*, 'to a minister', lxxxix, 267.
69. *Ibid.*, 'to a Maulana Jami'; xxxviii, 152.
70. *Ibid.*, Muhammad Shah Bahmani to Mahmud Shah Gujarati'; li, 189.
71. *Ibid.*, 'to Shamsu'd-din Muhammad Lari'; lxxvii, 248.
72. *Bur.*, 114.
73. *Riyaz.*, 'to Islam Khan, the envoy from Gajarat'; lxiii, 242.
74. *Ibid.*, 'to Maulana Jami'; xxxviii, 152.
75. *Ibid.*, 'to a Wazir'; xlvi, 180. 14 farsakh equals about 43 miles. The Raya of Vijayanagar was Virupaksha who "was given to wine and women" according to Nunez's chronicle as translated by Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 305. For the massacre of the Muslims see Sewell, p. 99, quoting Burros, *Decadas*, I, viii, c 10, who says that the massacre took place in 1469.
76. *Ibid.*, 'to the Sultan of Gilan'; xxxix, 157.
77. *Ibid.*, 'to a Wazir'; xlvi, 180.
78. *Ibid.*, 'to Maulana Jami'; xl, 167.
79. *Ibid.*, 'to the Sultan of Gilan'; xxxix, 157; this and *Fer.* 350, both agree about the number of boats sent.
80. *Ibid.*, 'to a Wazir'; xlvi, 180.
81. *Ibid.*, 'to the Sultan of Gilan'; xxxix, 157. Sewell and Aiyangar say that Goa was taken over in 1470; but I have based my calculations of Mahmud Gawan's letters which were actually written from the battlefields and find that the port was not captured till 1. 2. 1472. Goa, now capital of Portuguese India; 15°30' N., 77°57' E.
82. *Riyaz.*, 'to a learned friend'; lxvi, 233.

83. The new titles were: *حضرة مجلس الكريم، سيد عظيم، صاحب السيف والقلم*
Londa, in the Dharwar district of the Bombay State on the border of Portuguese India; 15°30' N., 74°32' E.
 Date of the *Khwaja's* arrival in Nikitin, for which see Major, *India in the fifteenth century*, p. 26.
 The Queen appearing unveiled; *Munt.*, III, 106.
84. *Fer.*, I, 350.
85. *Fer.*, I, 352. *Virakhera*, in Aurangabad district, Hyderabad State 19°58' N., 75°57' E.
Antur, a fort in Aurangabad district; 20°27' N, 75°15' E.
86. Parketa's name occurs both in *Bur.*, and *Fer.*, but I have not been able to trace either his real name or his genealogy.
Bankapur, now a taluqa of the Dharwar district in the Bombay State, 14°55' N., 75°16' E. Date of Sultan's march in Nikitin, *op. cit.*
Belgam headquarters of a district in the Bombay Province; 15°51' N., 74°31' E.
87. *Fer.*, 352,
Bur., 121.
88. *Fer.*, 352.
89. *Fer.*, 352.
90. It should be noted that this was the first time that gunpowder mines were sprung in the Deccan.
91. There is a difference between the descriptions of the episode in *Bur.*, 121 and *Fer.*, 353. *Bur.*, says that Parketa appeared on a bastion, while *Fer.*, relates this story as well as another that he actually came to the royal camp in disguise which he discarded in the King's presence tying his turban round his neck.
92. *Fer.*, 352. This is a remarkable epilogue to the episode and another instance of the policy of compromise and toleration put into practice by Mahmud Gawan so many times.

93. We might here mention that 'Ali Maliku't-Tujjar accompanied his father Mahmud Gawan in this campaign and composed a few lines in honour of the victory. There lines are quoted in *Bur.*, 122.
94. *Fer.*, 353.
95. *Riyaz.*, 'Muhammad Shah Bahmani to Mahmud Shah Gujarati'; lxiii, 234.
96. *Ibid.-Taz.*, 12 a gives the Chronogram of the Queen's death *وإبدالله الملك وارثها*; the copyist evidently

made a mistake in his calculation by defining the date as 876; if properly calculated the Chronogram should be equivalent to 877 which entirely tallies with the dates of the Belgam campaign during which the Queen died.

97. My conjecture that the reforms were initiated about this time is based mainly on three considerations. (i) this was the only time of respite for both the King and the minister for a long time; (ii) it was about this time that the discontented party intensified their propaganda against Mahmud Gawan; and (iii) *Khwaja's* murder followed soon after the promulgation of the reforms.

The word *sarlashkar* was already in vogue.

98. By 'Oriya' is meant the buffer country inhabited by local Tilangana chiefs; see Kalingadesa Charitra, Andhra Research Association publication, 1920, p. 360, Iswara Datta's article on the Wars of Vijayanagar against Kalinga Desa.

Reforms in *Fer.*, 356. See Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan's Political Thought and Administration*, Krishnaswamy Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, 1936, p. 136 ff. The direction of these reforms took more or less the same turn as those of William the Conqueror of England, for both William and Mahmud wanted to curb the power of the big lords and both divided large fiefs into smaller ones in order to strengthen the hands of the central government. Mahmud went a step further and made the fief holders accountable to

the king in the matter of the expenditure on the feudal army.

Daman, now a part of Portuguese India; 22°25' N., 72°53' E.

Bassein, now headquarters of a taluqa in Thana district, Bombay State 19°20' N., 72°49' E.

River Hora, probably Banathora in the Raichur district; 17°30' N., 77°0' E.

99. *Fer.*, I. 354. The appointment of Prince A'zam to a sarlashkarship is another evidence of the policy of compromise which had been the watchword of Mahmud Gawan's school. It should be remembered that Jalal Khan and his progeny had been the arch-enemies of the reigning Bahmani Sultans ever since the time of Ahmad II.
100. See Sakhawi, *Zawu'l-lami' li ahl-i qarni t-tasi'*, Cairo, 1355 H., Vol. X, p. 145 'Abdu'r Razzaq, *Matla'u's-Sa'dain*, vol. II, B, M, Or. 1291.
101. *Riyaz*, xxxviii, 153; lxiv, 227.
102. *Riyaz.*, 'to 'Ali el-Yezdi'; xi, 62. 'Ali was the author of the history of Timur called Zafarnamah and a writer of great note. Died at Taft near Yezd in 1454 and was buried in the Sharafiyah College founded by him.
Letters to Khwaja 'Ubaidu'l-lah el-Ahrrar; iii, 23; xlv, 177. He was a great Naqshbandi saint and preceptor of Maulana Jami. Died at a great age in February 1491.
103. Letters to Muhammad II: *Riyaz*, v, 37; lvi, 201; cxliii, 341; cxliv, 391. The addressee is Sultan Muhammad-i Murad II, meaning thereby Muhammad, son of Murad II, which the Conqueror was. The name of the envoy referred to in the text was Jalalu'd-din and the letter which he probably carried is given in extenso in *Munsha'atu's-Salatin*, Constantinople, 1264-65 H., as well as in the Mss. Collection, B. M. Or. 61, fol. 47.
104. *Insha-i Jami*, op. cit. fol. 36; Lutf-i-'Ali Beg, *Atish-kada-i Azar*, Bombay, 1277 H., p. 42.

105. *Fer.* I. 353. R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, 308-309 seems to have misunderstood the whole episode. Hamir Rai is not described by the Persian authorities as the Raya of Orissa but only as a Raya of Oriya, i.e. of the buffer country inhabited by the local chiefs of Tilangana. See Isvara Datta's article *op. cit.* p. 360. There is no such person as "Bhimaraja" at all. It is only Brigg's misreading for Ferishta's Hamir Rai in II 494 ff. *Wazirabad*, on the Krishna, in the Nalgonda district, Hyderabad State on the confluence of the Musi and the Krishna, $16^{\circ}42'N.$, $79^{\circ}40'E.$
106. *Fer.* I. 353. Also see *Haft Iqlim*, 61.
107. Mahmud was born in 875/1472 and must then have been barely five or six. See *Fer.* I. 350. The instance of Ahmad II, Muhammad III and Mahmud show that Bahmani princes were sent to the battle-front in their infancy in order to be hardened.
108. The details are very much confused. Purushotam is nowhere named in our Persian authorities but the presence of 500 elephants and the movement of troops northwards can only mean that it was Gajapati of Orissa. *Bur.* 122 is probably mistaken in calling him Narsing (Narasimha Saluva). Banerji, 312, however, considers it possible that Saluva might have allied with Purushotam or he might have attempted an independent venture. Ferishta only mentions Hamir Rai. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 7, follows *Bur.* to a large extent.
109. *Fer.* I. 354.
110. *Fer.* I. 354.
111. *Bur.* 124. Ferishta does not mention *Khandesh* in this connection at all, but I am inclined here, as in many other places, to follow Burhan, for one reason, as it seems unlikely that Muhammad Shah should have been away from the capital from the beginning of Tilangana campaign to the martyrdom of Mahmud Gawan as Ferishta seems to imply. 'Adil Khan ruled *Khandesh* from 1457 to 1501.
112. *Bur.* 125. For Narasimha Saluva's authority on the

east coast see Sewell and Aiyangar, *op. cit.*

The insurrection looks like the one of 879/-1475 but there is little doubt that although the *locus* of both is more or less the same they are distinct. Apart from the date, the actors are different and this time the Sultan marched southwards instead of northwards. However there seems to be considerable obscurity.

113. *Bur.* 126. Musnad-i 'Ali was the title of office created by Sultan Muhammad I for the governor of Daulatabad, but evidently it was now granted to any other governor; Ulugh-i A'zam means the "Great Elder."
114. *Fer.*, I, 354-55.
115. *Bur.* 126. Both Sewell and Aiyangar seem to have wrongly identified "Nolwara" with Malur in Mysore State. See Venkataramanayya, *Muhammad Shah. Lashkari's Expedition against Kanchi*, K. Aiyangar Volume. 1940, p. 807.
116. *Kanchi or Conjeevaram*, Headquarters of a taluqa in the Chinglepet district; Madras State, 12°15' N., 79°12' E. *Kondapalli*, formerly capital of one of the five Northern Circars, now a small town in the Bezwada district, Madras State, 16°73' N., 80°33' E.
The Russian traveller, Nikitin, says that Muhammad Shah actually occupied the city of Vijayanagar; *India in the 15th century*, p. 129.
117. *Taz.*, 13 a.
118. *Munt.* III. 107.
119. *Fer.* I. 357; *Haft Iqlim*, 60.
120. The *Khwaja's* own seal, perhaps the facsimile of the one which was affixed to the forged letter, will be seen on the top of a decree of his on frontispiece of his *Life* by the present author. Actual words of the forged document are from *Munt.* III. 110. *Fer.* I. 357 gives a gist only and adds that there was a reference to the weakness of the Bahmani frontier at Rajahmundry.
121. Thus in *Fer.* I. 358. *Bur.* 129, however, says that it was an astrologer who predicted dire consequences if the *Khwaja* went to the palace that day. *Haft Iqlim*, 60, says that Mahmud had ten thousand soldiers

under his command but he did not even think of using them for his benefit.

122. "God be praised! This is truly a big calumny," Qur'an. The episode in *Fer.* I. 358, where it is also related that the King was intoxicated; *Bur.* 130, says that he was ill and went into the zenana to take a purgative.
123. *Bur.* and *Fer.* agree about the main details of the approach of the end. But Sakhawi, who was a contemporary of the *Khawaja*, having lived from January 1428 to May 1, 1497, has a different story to tell. The purport of his account (*Zau'*, x, 144) is as follows: "Mahmud Gawan was always admonishing the King in his childhood not to become a spendthrift and desist from disbursing money and honours to menials. When the King grew up he began to dislike the way in which the *Khawaja* sought to curtail his liberty of action and began to look for an opportunity to do away with his preceptor. It so happened that the King was away in Narasimha's country for seventeen days and this gave Mahmud Gawan's enemies the opportunity of falsely colouring his character. They sent some of the favourite ministers of the King to the *Khawaja* purporting to communicate the regrets of the Sultan for having been away so long from him and warning him that as Narasimha's army was to launch an attack during the night it was necessary to take all precautions against him. Mahmud believed in this false alarm and thought it really emanated from the King himself (although as a matter of fact he knew nothing about it), and ordered the immediate equipment of the forces under him. The opposite party now hurried to the Sultan telling him that the minister was making preparations to fall on the royal camp at the first opportunity, and begged Muhammad Shah to send some one to see the preparations with his own eyes if he doubted their words. The spy duly reported the *Khawaja*'s preparations. Now the Sultan summoned the *Khawaja* to his presence when he himself was dead drunk. When the *Khawaja* arrived he had

absolutely no idea of the trick that had been played upon him. One of the royal slaves struck him by his sword and went on striking till he was dead. This happened on the 6th of Safar 886. As'ad Khan was also killed on the same day. The news reached Mecca when I was there and every one who heard it was deeply grieved."

This must be a faithful reproduction of the news as it reached Mecca, where Sakhawi was. Although there might be some truth in the episode, I am inclined to believe in the story as related in *Fer.* and *Bur.*, as, surely a shrewd man like Mahmud Gawan could not be ignorant of the military conditions and of the intentions of his opponents. *Bur.* 130, agrees with Sakhawi that Khwaja was killed not by one stroke but by successive strokes till he was dead.

124. *Fer.* and *Bur.* agree about this date but, as related above, Sakhawi says that the axe fell a day later than this.
125. The whole question of the date of the Khwaja's birth has been discussed in Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan*, Ch. I, where an attempt is made to prove that he was born in 813/-1411 as against *Fer.*'s 808/-1406.
126. How prophetic it was, for truly the Sultan's sword gave the Khwaja the honour of martyrdom for all time to come and thus proved to be "a life-giving nectar."
127. *Fer.* I. 358, says that the chronogram is by Sami'i but *Bur.* puts it down as emanating from Fazili's pen. The Khwaja was buried a few furlongs south of the walls of Bidar and his simple grave is surrounded by a number of other graves which may well be those of his immediate descendents, while the one next to him is reputed to be that of his friend and biographer, Mulla 'Abdu'l-Karim Hamadani. *Taz.* 13 a, wrongly says that the Khwaja was buried in the Madrasah itself.
128. Full farman in *Bur.* 130-132.
129. *Fer.* I, 359; *Munt.* III 112 says that Sa'id Khan was

- killed at the same time as the *Khwaja*.
130. *Fer.* I 359. Lari is the name of the silver coin the current in Iran' and here is evidently used for the silver Tanka. Hun, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ modern rupees. *Munt.*, III 113 says that the original capital was forty or fifty thousand Mahmudi.
131. All this in *Fer.* I, 360.
132. For a delineation of Mahmud Gawan's personality in detail see Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan*, Ch. 7.
133. This theory has only been verbally communicated to the author and had it not been for its definiteness it would not have been worth while to discuss it here.
134. *Riyaz.* cxlv, 398.
135. *Bur.* 129.
136. *Fer.* I. 350; *Munt.* III 106.
137. *Riyaz.* xix, 94.
138. Hadis. the Traditions relating to the life of the Apostle of Islam. *Riyaz.* xiii, 76.
139. *Fer.* I. 360. The Peshwaship was a comparatively small office with the early Bahmanis but now its status was being raised Qiwamu'l-Mulk is wrongly named Fakhru'l-Mulk in Syed 'Ali Bilgrami, *Tarikh-i Dakan*, pp. 218, 219. Also see *Fer.* 362.
140. The incident is recorded in detail in *Bur.* 133.
141. *Fer.* I. 361.
142. This date in *Bur.* 134. *Fer.* I, 361 gives 1.2.887. *Bur.* says that he reigned for 20 years 8 months and 2 days while *Haft Iqlim* 62, has 19 years $4\frac{1}{2}$ months and *Fer.* makes him reign for 20 years. We have seen that he ascended the throne on 13.11.867 and died on 5.2.887, so *Haft Iqlim* seems to be nearer to truth. Sewell, *A forgotten Empire*, 102, gives March 21 as the date of Muhammad's death but he is evidently mistaken as it is agreed that he died one lunar year after the *Khwaja*'s death.

CHAPTER 12

DEATH AGONIES OF THE STATE

SHIHABU'D-DIN MAHMUD

26.3.1482—7.12.1518.

I. POLITICAL ASPECTS

CHARACTER OF THE REIGN

The long reign of Shihabu'd-din Mahmud Shah Bahmani,¹ which extended to more than a quarter of a century, was a period of gradual weakening of the state ending in the disruption of the splendid edifice which had been built up by the earlier Bahmanis at Gulbarga and then by a series of capable rulers and ministers at Bidar. It was perhaps owing to a certain premonition of what was to come that the late Sultan had appointed Mahmud heir to the throne and made the nobles and high officials swear allegiance in his own lifetime. But this was of no avail. With an utter lack of leadership at Bidar, especially after Nizamul-Mulk's murder, and the want of patriotism and sense of integrity among the people, the kingdom soon collapsed through the impact of decentralising tendencies which began to eat into the roots of the state. It is strange that, while there was no dearth of capable men in the Deccan, hardly one of them had the real interest of the state at heart, while

on the other hand, they were actually digging out the very foundations of the structure. In the beginning they tried to get the control of the Sultan, but as there were too many of them and each was an equal match for the other, they left Mahmud Shah with just a few acres round the capital² and carved out large principalities for themselves. It is, however, hard to break a deep-rooted tradition, and not one of them, not even Qasim Barid, the man who had full personal control of the Sultan, dared to dethrone the puppet, and wherever the Sultan went he was received with ample respect. It was due to this strange position that we come across a number of rather queer situations during the reign.³

THE CORONATION

It fell to the lot of Mahmud to become King when he was only twelve years of age at a time when one of the parties, the New-comers, had been overthrown, and the Old-comers were in the ascendant in the person of the new regent, Malik Na'ib Hasan Nizamu'l-Mulk Bahri. He was escorted to the Turquoise Throne with the usual ceremonial with Shah Habibu'l-lah and Syed Habib on either side.⁴ The two divines were given chairs and prayed for the long life and prosperity of the boy-sovereign. He was then saluted by the nobles present led by Malik Na'ib, Qiwamu'l-Mulk the elder and Qiwamu'l-Mulk the younger, as also by Qasim Barid the Turk, who had now cast his lot with the party in power.⁵ It was remarked that a large number of officials and nobles such as Yusuf 'Adil Khan, Darya Khan, Fathu'l-lah 'Imadu'l Mulk and Mallu Khan son of Qasim Beg Safshikan, were not present on this auspicious occasion, and it was no doubt due

to the great importance attached to these high personages that Malik Naib passed orders that when they arrived at Bidar there would be a reenacting of the enthronement ceremonial by the King.⁶

As has already been stated, Yusuf 'Adil had been sent against Virupaksha of Vijayanagar who had left everything in the hands of his Minister Saluva Narasimha. On hearing that Muhammad III was dead, he hurried to the capital accompanied by Mallu Khan, Darya Khan, Fakhru'l-Mulk and others escorted by a thousand Mughal and Turkish youth. At this Nizamu'l-Mulk sent 'Adil Khan Dakhni to Fathu'l-lah 'Imadu'l-Mulk who was then at Warangal, with a message from the King to hurry to the court in order to forestall Yusuf. When he arrived in the city he left most of his *entourage*, but perhaps fearing an armed encounter, proceeded to the fort to pay homage to the King accompanied by two hundred fully armed bodyguard.⁷ Malik Naib was equal to the occasion and on his part brought five hundred armed followers into the palace fortress. The quaint procession was led by himself and Qasim Barid who was followed by Yusuf 'Adil and his men. The cavalcade streamed into the *Takht Mahal* where precedence was given to Yusuf 'Adil over Nizamu'l-Mulk,⁸ after whom came Darya Khan and then Malik Ahmad, who had been appointed Governor of Junair and Chakan, and others present.⁹ It was the occasion for the measuring of mutual strength by Nizamu'l-Mulk and Yusuf 'Adil, and thanks to the practical tact of these two men, everything passed off peacefully. After robes of honour had been conferred on them by the King they were seen to leave the palace hand in hand.

TURMOIL AT BIDAR

Yusuf 'Adil was encamped outside the city, and the day after these ceremonies Nizamul-Mulk paid a call on him and requested him to come into the city and live there as a good friend helping him to carry on the administration. Yusuf was most courteous, but being aware of his own strength, he replied that he was essentially a military man and that, since he did not know much about Civil Government and affairs of the State he thought he had better not interfere in day to day administration. There was, however, no love lost between the two leaders and it seems that Nizamul-Mulk was already planning that Yusuf should be removed altogether and be replaced by 'Adil Khan Dakhni in the governorate of Bijapur.¹⁰ He made the King issue an order that he would review the provincial levies before they left for their homes, and while he was sitting on a battlement of the fortress he called 'Imadu'l-Mulk and Yusuf 'Adil to him and told them that he was by no means pleased with their Turkish *entourage* as they were always restive. After this he ordered 'Adil Khan Dakhni to put an end to the Turkish population forthwith. The gates of the City were locked and bolted and the massacre of the Turks began. It is estimated that as many as four thousand were killed in cold blood, and it was only on the intercession of some pious men that the butchery was stopped. Yusuf 'Adil now fully realised that Bidar was not the place for him and he left for Bijapur leaving Nizamul-Mulk in full control.¹¹

The slaughter was followed by a triumvirate after the fashion of that which had charge of the administration in the time of Mahmud Shah's father, the personalities now being

Nizamu'l-Mulk now appointed Malik Na'ib, Fathu'l-lah 'Imadu'l-Mulk appointed Wazir and Amir-i Jumla and the Queen Mother, who became the president of the Council of Regency and adviser in matters of state. The first act of the new council was to make Qasim Barid, entitled Baridu'l-Mamalik, who had helped Nizamu'l-Mulk to massacre his own kith and kin, Kotwal, while 'Imadu'l-Mulk's son 'Alau' d-din was made his deputy in the governorate of Berar and Fakhru'l-Mulk the younger made *Khwaja-i Jahan*.¹²

This arrangement went on quite successfully and almost without a hitch for four years, but when the Sultan became sixteen in 1486 he began to lend his ears to unscrupulous adventurers, of whom there must have been many in those unsettled days, and actually began to plot against the Chief Minister. One of them was Dilawar Khan Habashi who told the boy-King that he was being neglected by the trio, and the King was so incensed that he ordered Dilawar to put and end both to Nizamu'l-Mulk and 'Imadu'l-Mulk; but the plot failed and the King had to apologise to these two and in turn permitted them to kill Dilawar outright ! Dilawar also seems to have escaped somehow, for we soon see him siding with the King against Qasim Barid. The episode, however, resulted in the break up of the triumvirate for, when 'Imadu'l-Mulk saw that there was danger in associating himself too closely with the Malik Na'ib he left for his own province of Berar never again to come back and take part in the politics of the capital.¹³

END OF MALIK HASAN NIZAMU'L-MULK

It is a strange coincidence that just as a campaign in

Tilangana had brought about the end of Mahmud Gawan in the same way a Tilangana campaign sowed the seed of the conspiracy which ended the life of his arch enemy, Nizamu'l Mulk. It was in 891/1486 that 'Adil Khan Dakhni, Governor of Warangal, died on which Qiwanu'l-Mulk the younger marched from Rajahmundri and took possession of Warangal and the whole of Tilangana. Nizamu'l-Mulk marched against him and forced him to retire¹⁴ but his enemies took advantage of his absence and concocted all kinds of stories which were corroborated by Qiwanu'l-Mulk who sent petitions to Mahmud inculpating Malik Na'ib. At the capital itself the Habashi party had broken away from him, especially after his unsuccessful attempt to put an end to Dilawar's life, and they were now joined by his erstwhile friend Qasim Barid the Turk and the Habashi leader, Dastur Dinar (of whom more will be heard presently), and succeeded in getting a royal farman that the Minister be done to death.¹⁵ Nizamu'l-Mulk, who was in the King's camp, got the wind of the affair and replying on his friend, Dilpasand Khan, one of the nobles of Bidar, fled to the capital and sent immediate word to his son at Junair to hurry back with his army while he himself got hold of as much wealth as possible out of the royal treasury. On hearing of the situation, the King appointed Qutbu'l-Mulk Dakhni, Governor of Tilangana and himself took the road to Bidar. But the Nemesis had already overtaken Nizamu'l-Mulk, for his own friend Dilpasand strangled him and cutting off the old man's head presented it to the King on his arrival at Bidar.¹⁶

The King was greatly pleased at the turn of events and

considered the murder of Nizamu'l-Mulk as an act of deliverance. He began to indulge in wine, women and song and spent so much money on his luxuries that he had to extract many jewels from the Turquoise throne, to fix them on to his wine decanter and cup.¹⁷ He now seems to have turned entirely towards the Afaqi group and married his two sisters in the family of Shah Habibu'l-lah.¹⁸

CONSPIRACY OF OLD-COMERS

All this could not fail to have a reaction on the population of Bidar especially when the feelings against the Sultan were being fomented by leaders of factional politics in the capital. In 892/1487 the aggrieved group, namely the Dakhnis, again allied with the Habashis and conspired to put an end to the life of the Sultan himself. The conspiracy smouldered on for many months and on 21.11.892/8.11.1487 the populace entered the Fort, locking it from within so that it might be impossible for those outside, especially the Newcomers, to enter the Palace and protect the King.¹⁹ The King was busy in drinking bouts attended by Aziz Khan Turk, Hasan 'Ali Khan Sabzwari, Syed Mirza Mashhadi²⁰ and a host of pretty girls, when a thousand of the meanest members of the populace forced themselves to the King's presence. When the King's attendants came between them and the royal person they were forthwith done to death. The King had to fly to Shah Burj where there was a free fight between the New-comers and the rebels. In the meantime the news of revolt spread through the town and Jahangir Khan, Farhad Khan, Qasim Barid, Sher Khan Ardistani, Kishwar Khan and others arrived with a detachment of 12,000 and scaled

the battlements leading to Shah Burj by means of ropes, defeated the rebels in a hand to hand scuffle and forced them to fly to Nagina Mahal.²¹ The city itself was the scene of terrible carnage which lasted till moonrise, i.e. about 6 a.m.²² In the morning when the King had got the situation well in his grasp, he ordered that the Dakhnis should be killed wherever found and their property sequestered. It is said that this massacre went on for three days and stopped only at the intercession of Shah Muhibbu'l-lah, who belonged himself to the party of the New-comers.²³

The Sultan was mightily pleased at his own miraculous escape and ordered rejoicings which went on for forty days. He also ordered that a new palace should be built on the top of the Shah Burj which had proved to be so auspicious to him. Certain sections of the populace were so much taken up by the revelry and drinking bouts which became the order of the day at the Palace, that they themselves began to indulge in excessive pleasure resulting in an almost unprecedented looseness of morals and self-control.²⁴

QASIM BARID'S POSITION

It was about this time that the various governors and jagirdars of the kingdom perceived the utter inertia which had set in at Bidar, and thinking that the downfall of the central power was at hand, began to assert their power. Perhaps the first to rise was Qasim Baridu'l-Mamalik, who held Qandhar and Ossa as a jagir. When Mahmud heard of this he sent Dilawar Khan against him with a large army. Barid was no match for the stalwart Afghan and had to fly to Balkunda. Dilawar pursued him, and Barid was within

an ace of being defeated when a mad elephant rushed on Dilawar and killed him, turning defeat into victory. Qasim Barid now marched on the capital and forced Mahmud to make him Prime Minister of the kingdom with Daulatabad and Balaghat as his jagir.²⁵

Qasim Barid now attempted to rule the kingdom in the name of the King much as Mahmud Gawan and Nizamu'l-Mulk had done before him. But times had changed, and perhaps he had neither the ability nor the circumspection which were needed for it, with the result that the nobles who held fiefs in different parts of the country made common cause against him. The confederate armies met Qasim Barid's levies at Deoni between Bidar and Udgir and completely defeated them, Barid flying to his jagirs. It is related that the Sultan fell from his horse in the fray and was taken back to the capital by the nobles who treated him in a royal manner.²⁶

MALIK AHMAD NIZAMU'L-MULK'S SUCCESSES

One of the most powerful of these nobles was Malik Ahmad Nizamu'l-Mulk who was at his jagir, Junair, at the time of his father Nizamu'l-Mulk's death. Some of the forts which were supposed to be included within his fiefs had been in the possession of the Marathas ever since Mahmud Gawan's time²⁷ and had not paid their dues for five years and more, and even Shivnari, the fort commanding Junair itself, seems to have been outside his pale. An ambitious man like Malik Ahmad could not keep quiet, and he conquered all the Maharashtra forts which came in his way including the whole of Konkan. It was while besieging Dandarajpuri that he

received the news of Nizamu'l-Mulk's murder, on which he adopted the title of Nizamu'l-Mulk.²⁸ He advanced further and subjugated Mahur, Bir, and Shivgaon.²⁹ The whole country as far as the Godavari³⁰ was pacified, and soon "Hindu and Muslim, Dakhni and *Khurasani*" all began to respect and fear the new Nizamu'l-Mulk. At the end of the campaign Nizamu'l-Mulk came to Bidar, was received well by Sultan Mahmud and granted all the forts which he had conquered as jagir.³¹

These successes were not, however, to the liking of the party in power at the court, and at Qazim Barid's instance the King actually sent a farman to Yusuf 'Adil to march to Junair along with *Khawaja-i Jahan* Dakhni and Yusuf Talash of Chakan and put an end to Malik Ahmad. Such moves were, however, of no avail, and instead of marching against Nizamu'l-Mulk, Yusuf 'Adil sent a messenger to Junair to express his regrets on the death of his father and actually evacuated the fort of Indupur for him. Nizamu'l-Mulk had rather a stiff opponent in the person of Nadiru'z-Zamani Shaikh Muwaddi the Arab,³² who marched on Junair with twelve thousand horse. Seeing the danger Nizamu'l-Mulk sent his family to the fortress of Shivnari which had recently conquered and rebuilt, and retreated a few miles from his headquarters appointed Nasiru'l-Mulk Gujarati as Peshwa and Wakil. He then wheeled round, defeated Talash at Chakan, the stronghold of his possible enemy Zainu'd-din 'Ali, while Nasiru'l-Mulk came to grips with Shaikh Muwaddi and forced him to fly. The Arab leader was, however, caught unawares by Nizamu'l-Mulk and was beheaded on the battlefield.³³

Malik Ahmad had now to face the court faction which was still in deadly opposition to him and which had persuaded the Sultan to send 'Azmatu'l-Mulk with a huge army against him. As on previous occasion he proved too clever for his enemies, and avoiding them, circled round the mountainous country of Qadirabad heading straight for Bidar itself. He could have made things difficult for the royal army that was left there, but desisted and contented himself in a secret understanding with the gatekeeper of the city wall, carrying off his own family to Junair.³⁴ He then hurried to Parenda where he was met by the Sultan's army under Jahangir Khan. On his approach Nizamu'l-Mulk moved to Patan and thence back to his own capital, Junair. This was in 891/1486. Thus Nizamu'l-Mulk had succeeded in extricating the members of his family from the grasp of his enemies at Bidar and had thus given another proof of the utter incompetence of the factions at work at the capital. The Sultan's army under 'Azmatu'l-Mulk, returned from the ghats at Qadirabad, met him at Bir and a truce was patched up. This was not to the liking of the court party and 'Azmat was replaced by Jahangir Khan who pursued him till he was brought face to face with Nasiru'l-Mulk at Patkapur. On 3.7.895/23.5.1490 Nizamu'l-Mulk suddenly appeared from Jeur Ghat, fell on Jahangir Khan, and killed him in a battle which was fought in a grove. He captured many nobles who were commanding the Bahmani forces, made them ride on oxen and had them led to Bidar in that abject plight. It was not long after that Nizamu'l-Mulk surrounded the grove with a wall and built a beautiful palace making it the centre of his newly created capital which he named after himself, Ahmadnagar.³⁵

QASIM BARID, PRIME MINISTER

At the capital itself Qasim Barid was not sitting idly merely gazing at others carving out principalities for themselves. In 897/-1492 he got himself appointed Wakil or Prime Minister of the kingdom and the Sultan confirmed on him Qandhar, Ossa, Udgir and Kalyani as his fiefs. He was not content with what he got, and notwithstanding royal orders he proceeded to subdue other forts of his own accord. Such was the helplessness of the Sultan, that it was Dilawar Khan Habashi who appeared from Burhanpur and forced Qasim to fly to Golkonda. Dilawar's stakes became higher and higher every instant and if he had not been killed by a mad elephant at Kaulas he might have become the founder of a principality himself. Qasim now entered Bidar in triumph and made the King to reappoint him Prime Minister.³⁶

His ambitions became now boundless and, as he would see no one in any way equal to him in power and prestige, he actually did what not even the worst of the enemies of Deccan would have done, for he invised the Raya of Vijayanagar to occupy the much coveted cities of Raichur and Mudgal.³⁷ The Raya Tammadeva, was a minor, and the minister of state Narasa Nayaka, sent a strong army against Yusuf 'Adil and occupying the two key positions forced him to accept the loss. Yusuf 'Adil now advanced against Qasim Barid, who secured the support of Nizamu'l-Mulk by offering him Goa, Konkan, Banhala and Kalhar which were then occupied by Bahadur Gilani.³⁸ The battle was joined five krohs from Bidar.³⁹ Qasim Barid and the Sultan posted themselves in along with Fakhru'l-Mulk Dakhni and Nizamu'l-Mulk on either side and with Qasim Barid's son in reserve, while they

were opposed by Yusuf 'Adil in the centre flanked by Darya Khan and Fakhrul-Mulk Turk. The weakness of Qasim was shown once again and the day ended in his complete rout resulting in the flight of the Sultan to the capital, while Yusuf 'Adil went back to Bijapur after concluding peace with Bahadur Gilani. He was not content with this, and it was not long before he proceeded against the Vijayanagaris who had entrenched themselves in the Doab, fought a pitched battle with them on 1.7.898/29.4.1492 and captured Raichur and Mudgal. It is probable that these two towns were retaken in the name of the Bahmani Sultan, for we find Yusuf 'Adil sending costly presents including dresses made of cloth of gold and four horses with shoes made of gold and saddles studded with the same metal to the Sultan at Bidar.⁴⁰

BAHADUR GILANI'S REBELLION

While all this was going on an unscrupulous and intrepid person was attempting to carve out a principality on the western coast. Khwaja Mahmud Gawan had left Goa in his friend Nizamu'd-din Gilani's possession as deputy to Kishwar Khan who was acting for the Khwaja at Bijapur. On Nizamu'd-din's death in 896/-1491⁴¹ the kotwal of Goa, Bahadur Gilani, had taken possession of the whole coast line right up to Dabul and occupied Kolhapur, Kalhar, Panhala, Belgam, Miraj and other forts in what is now the southern Maratha country. He had begun to harass the land as far north as Chaul⁴² and had even sent one of his officers, Yaqut Habashi with 200 ships of war as far north as Mahaim (which had been in the possession of Gujarat ever since the reign of Shihabu'd-din Ahmad I) and burnt it.

On hearing this Mahmud Shah Begada of Gujarat sent an expedition under Malik Sarang Khan Qiwamu'l-Mulk against Bahadur.⁴³ Qiwamu'l-Mulk marched forward as far as Agashi and Bassein but he was ordered to stop here, for it would have been impossible to proceed any further without encroaching upon the territory of the Deccan which the King of Gujarat faithfully respected. It is an irony of circumstance that the same King who had saved the Deccan from the clutches of Mahmud *Khilji* of Malwa only a few years ago, should now be attacked by a nobleman of that very Kingdom. It demonstrates the nobility of the character of the Gujarati monarch that he was content to send Hashim Tabrizi as ambassador to Bidar in 899/-1494 only to complain that an amir of the Bahmani kingdom had caused depredations on the Gujarat coast and had destroyed as many as twenty-four Gujarati ships full of merchandise.⁴⁴ He went on to say that while it was not possible to send a large army against Bahadur by sea he did not see his way to send his army by land owing to the intervening Deccan territory. He appealed to the old friendship between the two kingdoms and requested Sultan Mahmud Shah to put an end to the rebel chief.⁴⁵

Sultan Mahmud now sent 'Abdu'l Malik Shustari to Yusuf 'Adil for help against Bahadur at which Yusuf 'Adil complied with his orders by sending Kamal Khan Dakhni in pursuit of him as he evacuated Jamkhandi and fled to Belgam. Belgam was also taken by Yusuf 'Adil after a siege lasting two or three months.⁴⁶ The Sultan sent appeals to all his tarafdars for help against Bahadur and in obedience to this both Nizamu 'l-Mulk and 'Imadu'l-Mulk sent large forces to

help him. He himself left Bidar and was received by Yusuf 'Adil right royally and lodged in the Gagan Mahal Palace in the magnificent fort which had recently been rebuilt by him. He was further offered most valuable presents by his host, but he returned all these except a single elephant, requesting Yusuf 'Adil to keep them for him for the time being as otherwise all of these would be quietly annexed by his warder, Qasim Barid, who held all power and authority at the capital.⁴⁷ At the same time the Sultan sent an ultimatum to Bahadur to lay down his arms at once and return Kamal Khan and Safdar Khan whom he had imprisoned along with the Gujarati ships which were in his possession. When no answer was received he summoned Qutbu'l-Mulk Dakhni, Governor of Tilangana, and ordered him to join forces with Bahadur. Qutbu'l-Mulk was killed on battlefield and when the Sultan came to know of this he bestowed the title of Qutbu'l-Mulk on Sultan Quli Hamadani who had already been raised to the dignity of *Khawas Khan* and gave him the jagirs of Kolkar, Gurgi and other Tilangana villages.⁴⁸ With Qutbu'l-Mulk now in command, the royal army gained a series of victories against Bahadur Gilani, for the rebel was driven out of Jamkhandi, which was now given to Yusuf 'Adil while Mankher was also captured by the King himself after a short siege of three days.⁴⁹ On 20.7.898/7.5.1493 *Khwaja Ni'matu'l-lah Tabrizi* arrived at Mubarakabad-Miraj where the Sultan was then camping, with a message from Bahadur offering to lay down his arms.⁵⁰ The Sultan thought the moment to be doubly auspicious as on that very day was born a son to the Queen who was accompanying her royal consort. The King named the infant Ahmad, and

amid great rejoicings had him crowned forthwith. The Sultan was so pleased that he sent word to Bahadur that if he simply presented himself in the court with a couple of elephants, he would give him back all the forts and towns which had been taken from him. This was beyond all Bahadur's expectations and he thought that such lenient terms could only be due to some weakness in the Sultan's camp itself and revoked all thought of allegiance he might have had. The Sultan immediately marched from Miraj, captured Kalhar, and forced Bahadur's administrator at Dabul to pay homage to him. Bahadur first shut himself at Panhala which was the 'strongest fort in the locality,' but made a sortie out when he heard that the Sultan was on his way to Kolhapur. On reaching Kolhapur the Sultan ordered Fakhru'l-Mulk Dakhni and 'Ainu'l-Mulk Kan'ani to cut off Bahadur's retreat to Panhala.

Bahadur now became hopeless and sent Ni'matu'l-lah Tabrizi and Khwaja Majdu'd-din to the Sultan to say that if he sent him a farman with the signature of Qasim Barid, his life would be spared, provided that he came and paid homage.⁵¹ The King was again magnanimous and forgave him but demanded the surrender of all the proceeds of piracy to the King of Gujarat. Bahadur would have none of it, and in reply put forward the condition of his surrender namely that the King should retreat to Miraj and Fakhru'l-Mulk should evacuate Panhala. There was nothing left for the Sultan but to order again that Bahadur should not reach Panhala, and Qutbu'l-Mulk was commissioned for the task. Bahadur met Qutbu'l-Mulk with a force "composed of 2,000 Gilani, Mazendrani, 'Iraqi and Khurasani cavalry" and

15,000 infantry. In the battle which ensued he was hit by an arrow and killed. This was on 5.2.900/5.11.1494.⁵²

On hearing of this great victory the King moved to Panhala and occupied it without bloodshed. He gave some of Bahadur's jagirs to 'Ainu'l-Mulk Kan'ani and some to Nizamu'l-Mulk while the rest he distributed among other nobles. He sent the army to Bijapur and himself proceeded to Mustafabad-Dabul. From Dabul he went to Bijapur and after stopping at Kalabagh arrived at the capital where there were great rejoicings on his return. The prolonged episode ended in the Sultan sending "magnificent presents, gold and silver chairs, many maunds of pearls, five elephants, a jewelled dagger" to Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat ordering that twenty ships should be passed on to his admirals in return for those which had been sunk by Bahadur.

FURTHER ATTEMPTS AT AUTONOMY

There were two other bids for power and in both of them Malik Ahmad, who had so far kept in the background to a certain extent, came to the fore. The first was the attempt of a certain Malik Ashraf who proclaimed himself ruler of Daulatabad and ordered that the name of Sultan Mahmud Begada be recited in Friday sermons at the mosque of Qutbu'd-din Mubarak Shah *Khilji* where the Bahmani kingdom had been proclaimed 150 years before. He did not, however, survive even to offer battle to Nizamu'l-Mulk who was marching against him, and on his death it was not difficult for Daulatabad to be reoccupied.⁵³

Another pretender, Dastur Dinar Habashi, was more fortunate. He was granted the jagirs of Gulbarga, Sagar

Aland and Gangawati in return for his charge of Tilangana which he had to vacate for Qutbu'l-Mulk. Dastur thought it was an opportune moment to become autonomous like others, so in 901/1496 he allied himself with Nizamul-Mulk and "expelled royal officials from many localities."⁵⁴ The Sultan set word to Yusuf 'Adil to help him in the matter, and himself proceeded to the west to join him. The two armies came face to face at Mahandri. The King had on his right Yusuf 'Adil and Fakhru'l-Mulk and on his left Qutbu'l-Mulk Qadam Khan and Jahangir Khan. Dastur was defeated and ordered to be beheaded but was in the end forgiven and Gulbarga and Aland as were granted to him as jagirs for a second time.⁵⁵

BETROTHAL OF CROWN PRINCE AHMAD

More was still to come. The early months of 903/1497 saw the betrothal of the infant Prince Ahmad to Yusuf 'Adil's daughter Bibi Sitti at Gulbarga. The ceremony was performed by Qazi 'Abdu's-Sami', the Qazi 'Askar, and although the whole thing was not to the liking of Qasim Barid, both he and Fakhru'l-Mulk Dakhni came and paid homage to the King. As the bridegroom was only 4 and the bride but 3 the question of sending away the bride was postponed till six years later. The auspicious occasion was marred by what was now a perennial civil strife, and this time it took the shape of the demand of Yusuf 'Adil for the possession of Gulbarga, Aland, Gangawati and Kalyani so that his territories might become contiguous with those immediately under his royal kinsman, the Sultan. Of course the sovereign was too weak to have any say in the matter, and while marriage

celebrations were still going on, Yusuf 'Adil and Qutbu'l-Mulk Hamadani were fighting with Dastur Dinar who had allied with Qasim Barid and Fakhru'l-Mulk Dakhni. Yusuf 'Adil came out victorious and his status was raised so much by this victory that the Sultan would not take a seat in his presence. When, however, Yusuf's back was turned Qasim came into favour again and was once more confirmed as Prime Minister.⁵⁶

Yusuf would not, however, leave Dinar in peace, and early next year, 904/1498, led an army against Gulbarga and forced Dinar to fly to Nizamu'l-Mulk. He now went direct to Bidar and complained to the King that Nizamu'l-Mulk was helping a rebel, to which Nizamu'l-Mulk replied begging the King not to come in the way of Dastur Dinar who had held the fief of Gulbarga for such a long time. On the King's admonition Yusuf 'Adil desisted from proceeding against Dastur Dinar any further.⁵⁷

QUTBU'L-MULK

We have already seen the rise of Sultan Quli Hamadani to the dignity of *Khawas Khan* and from the dignity of *Khawas Khan* to the title of Qutbu'l-Mulk and fief holder of Tilangana. No doubt the Sultan was impressed by the inherent ability shown by him in the last few incidents and in 903/1498 he was raised above the other jagirdars of Tilangana such as *Jahangir Khan*, *Sanjar Khan*, *Qiwau'l-Mulk* and others, and the great fort of Golconda was added to his already extensive fiefs. The Sultan also granted him the rank and title of *Amiru'l-Umara* or the Chief of the Nobles, while, perhaps to appease Qasim Barid's envy, he increased

his jagirs by the session of Osa and Qandhar.⁵⁸

Qasim Barid had, however, made many enemies at the capital who poisoned the King's mind saying that he was a very dangerous man and intended to revolt against the authority of the King. The King summoned Qutbu'l-Mulk and Yusuf 'Adil to his side and towards the end of Z'il-Hijjah 903/August 1494 the three went and besieged Qasim's Jagir town Osa. The siege went until the next month when a thing which had become a common occurrence in the kingdom happened, that is, a large contingent in the royal army went over to the other camp. Qutbu'l-Mulk and Yusuf 'Adil returned to their charges, Qasim Barid paid homage to the person of the Sultan and both rode in state back to the capital. Later it was agreed between Yusuf 'Adil, Nizamu'l-Mulk and Qasim Barid that all the three should leave the King alone but should come to the capital once a year in order to pay homage to the throne.⁵⁹

THE EAST-COAST, AND VIJAYANAGAR

Not very long after Mahmud's accession, namely in 1485, Saluva Narasimha, the powerful minister of Vijayanagar, dethroned his master Virupaksha III and ascended the throne himself. Besides being ambitious, he had been a minister of Vijayanagar for a number of years and was fully aware of the weakness of the neighbouring states. We have already noticed how Muhammad III had marched south as far as Kanchi, and he must have left his hold on practically the whole of the coast line as far as that town. Now that the Bahmani state was visibly on its downward trend Saluva thought that it was time to strike. He therefore ordered his

general Ishwara Nayak and his son Narasa Nayak to march against the Bahmani camp at Kandukur where they completely routed the Bahmani army. Being elated at this victory the Vijayanagar forces seem to have advanced further into the dominions of the Gajapatis but met no further opposition from the Bahmani arms on the way.⁶⁰

Whatever may have been the outcome of this onslaught the conquest of the East coast by Vijayanagar could not have been lasting, as we find that "within six years of Muhammad's death," i.e. before 1488, Purushotam III of Orissa had overrun the whole of the Godavari-Krishna Doab and had driven off the Bahmani forces as far south as Kondavidu, so that "towards the end of his reign Purushotam was in undisputed possession of the Doab right up to Bezwada." He seems to have frequent clashes with the Vijayanagar forces and to have brought much booty home.⁶¹

But things changed with the appointment of Qutbu'l-Mulk as the governor of Tilangana in 903/-1498, for he tried to restore the hegemony of the Bahmanis by regaining effective control over Warangal, Rajakonda, Dewarkonda and Kovilkonda. In 1504 a local chief, Sitapati of Khammammet, alias Shitab Khan, captured Warangal and allied himself with Ramchandra, Raja of Orissa. Qutbu'l-Mulk now marched on Warangal and defeated the allied armies forcing the ruler of Orissa to agree to a demarcation of the frontier, with the Godavari as the border between the Bahmani dominions and Orissa territory, while Ellore and Bezwada remained at least for a time with Qutbu'l-Mulk.

Vijayanagar continued to have a feeble government, and although the Bahmani state was full of the most abject kind

of civil turmoil, there had been peace on the southern frontier of the kingdom except for a small incursion at the instance of Qasim Barid himself and the later occupation of Raichur and Mudgal by the southern state which has been detailed above. Raichur seems to have changed hands more than once, sometimes coming under the sway of Bijapur, at other times passing under Vijayanagar. Naturally under these circumstances the tribute which Vijayanagar had stipulated to pay to the Bahmani kingdom was not forthcoming. There was a kind of lull among the great fiefholders about the middle of 909/1503, with the result that with 5,000 horse and 70,000 footsoldiers the Sultan set out to reconquer Raichur and Mudgal. He was joined by Qutbu'l-Mulk at Arki and by Yusuf 'Adil at Ankor with 5,000 Turkish cavalry, 6,000 infantry and 500 elephants. 'Ainu'l-Mulk was further ordered to wheel round by way of Kalhar and Kolhapur towards Vijayanagar with 5,000 horse, 5,000 foot and 80 elephants. It appears that this strategy was enough to intimidate the Southern Empire, and we read that Vijayanagar offered and the Sultan accepted the arrears of tribute, while Raichur and Mudgal were returned to Yusuf 'Adil.

Things were quiet for a little while till the accession of Krishna Deva Raya to the Vijayanagar throne in 1509. Krishna Deva Raya struck in all directions, and in a brilliant campaign dispossessed Yusuf's son Isma'il 'Adil of Raichur and Mudgal. The Gajapati of Orissa had ousted the Bahmanis from the East coast towns, and now it was the turn of Orissa to be defeated at the hands of Krishna Deva Raya who captured Udayagiri in 1514 and Kondavidu on

on 23.6.1515, followed by the annexation by the Vijayanagar Empire of Venukonda, Amaraoti, Rajahmundri, Kondapalli and even Nalgonda and Khammammet, thus cutting off both the Bahmanis and the Gajapatis effectively from the eastern coast of the Deccan. In 1516 Orissa finally made peace with Krishna Deva Raya, accepting the *fait accompli*.⁶²

There was another effort on the part of the Bahmani overlords to win back the Raichur Doab, and there is an obscure passage in the *Burhan-i Ma'asir* that in 923/1517 their joint armies marched against Vijayanagar, ostensibly to levy the "tribute" which might have been in arrears. But it seems that this cumulative effort was not effective, for the Sultan himself was wounded in the fray and had to be carried to the tent of Mirza Lutfu'l-lah, son of Shah Muhibdu'l-lah, followed by the retreat of the army to Bidar.

THE END OF QASIM BARID

The story has been carried further than was required from a purely chronological point of view in order to ensure continuity, and we have now to take up the thread of home affairs. During the Vijayanagar campaign of 909/1503 Qasim Barid seems to have been degraded as the result, perhaps of perennial intrigues in the capital, and the charge of the ministry had been handed over to *Khan-i Jahan*. When the campaign was over and the larger part of the Bahmani forces demobilised, Qasim Barid somehow got the Prime Minister murdered, forcing the Sultan to reappoint him head of the Government. This greatly enraged the other large fief-holders, and Yusuf 'Adil, Qutbu 'l-Mulk and Dasturu'l-Mamalik joined forces and marched on the capital

to wrest power from the clutches of Qasim Barid. Qasim brought the King out of the palace to fight against those who had come to save him from an illegal wardship, but was defeated and put to flight. The Sultan was left alone, and the leaders of the victorious troops immediately paid homage to their sovereign and then returned home.

The years 909/-1504 and 910/-1505 evidenced a further fluidity in the relations between those who were bidding for power and authority. In 909/-1504 the actual marriage of the Crown Prince Ahmad with Bibi Sitti, daughter of Yusuf 'Adil took place at Gulbarga. While the Sultan was staying at Tandur Qasim Barid also appeared to pay homage to him, and still smarting under the sense of defeat, he soon picked up a quarrel with Yusuf 'Adil's men, during which 'Ainu 'l-Mulk was killed by Qasim's partisans. Qasim then left Tandur and proceeded to Bidar which was besieged. On the Sultan's return with the bridal party attended by 5,000 horse, the farce was re-enacted, for Qasim again paid homage to the Sultan, who in his turn appointed him Na'ib Barbek and made him responsible for the Government of the City.⁶⁵

Qasim Barid died in 910/-1505 and was succeeded in the Chief Ministership by his son Amir Barid. He seems to have been an accomplished calligrapher and a musician of some note. His political life may be said to have put an end to the authority of the Bahmani Sultan. He was probably the first Amir of the Bahmani state who perceived the strength of the foundations upon which that state had been built up and the great hold which the person of the Sultan had on the mind of the nobleman as well as that of the commoner.

He knew well that however powerful the governors of outlying provinces might be, it was the person nearest to the throne who would really lead the way, and right through his political life he tried his best not to loose his hold upon the court. This very fact led to the complete eradication of what was left of the authority of the Sultan, for the throne was dragged into the arena of party-politics and the struggle took the turn not of any principles, but merely of personalities, with the result that when Qasim died he left the position of the throne considerably weakened and the Sultan almost friendless.⁶⁶

END OF THREE OTHER NOBLES

The year 914/1508 saw the death of a great actor in the drama of the fall of the Bahmani State, namely Ahmad Nizamu'l-Mulk, who was succeeded by his son Burhan. Two years later occurred the death of two other great personages, i.e., Yusuf 'Adil who died at Bijapur and Fathu'l-lah 'Imadu'l-Mulk who died at Elichpur.⁶⁷ The Sultan gave the title of 'Adil Khan to Yusuf's son Isma'il and of 'Imadu'l-Mulk to 'Alau'd-din Darya Khan son of Fathu'l-lah, while he bestowed on them all the fiefs which their fathers had occupied.⁶⁸ We have already seen how both these magnates, while fully autonomous in their own territories, always respected the central power in the person of the Sultan, and whenever the Sultan happened to cross into their fiefs always paid full respect and consideration to him. There is a remarkable passage in Burhan-i Ma'asir (a work which always shows considerable partiality to the pretensions of Nizamu'l-Mulk), in which mention is made of the mobilisation of armies from different parts of the Bahmani kingdom

in 923/1517, i. e., just a year before the Sultan's death. It is related that at the head of these contingents came Nizamul-Mulk from Ahmadnagar, Khwaja-i Jahan from Parenda, Isma'il 'Adil from Bijapur, Qutbu 'l-Mulk from Golconda and 'Imadu'l-Mulk from Berar and all of them paid homage to their sovereign.⁶⁹ While this was going on, Amir Barid was filling his private treasury at the expense of the King and distributing ranks and offices at his pleasure. He granted Gulbarga to Jahangir Khan on the death of his father Dastur Dinar. He was jealous of the growing power of Isma'il 'Adil who had taken possession of all the forts from Sagar to Naldrug, and persuaded the Sultan to march against him. The two armies met at Alandpur, the day ending in the flight of Amir Barid who left both the Sultan and the Crown Prince behind. The King was wounded in the affray, and after his wounds had been dressed by Mirza Lutfu'l-lah son of Shah Muhibbu'l-lah, he was taken to Bijapur with the utmost respect by Isma'il 'Adil, and when the Sultan expressed his desire to go to his capital, Isma'il ordered that four or five thousand "Mughal" horse should accompany him there. It was on this occasion that Bibi Sitti was actually given away by his brother to her husband, the Crown Prince Ahmad.⁷⁰

The last few years of the Sultan's reign were taken up by desultory rebellions and counter-campaigns against the recalcitrant nobles. Thus in 920/1514, while the Sultan goes to Gulbarga at the instance Isma'il 'Adil and takes possession of the fortress from Dastur Dinar, the latter betakes himself to Amir Barid and actually besieges the capital "massacring a number of people." Soon there is a checkmate following a

rift between Amir Barid and Dastur Dinar which results in Qasim Barid going back to his estates and the grant of pardon by the Sultan to Dastur who is regranted Gulbarga as jagir. In Sha'ban 923/ September 1517 the Sultan has to proceed to Mahur against *Khudawand Khan* who had rebelled. *Khudawand Khan* is worsted in the fight and is beheaded as a rebel, while his estates are granted to his younger son Mahmud *Khan*.⁷¹

THE SULTAN'S DEATH

The King died on 4.12.924/7.12.1518.⁷² For all intents and purposes the Bahmani state had come to an end and practically all our chroniclers are united in the assertion that with his death the fiefholders assumed royal titles. This matter will, however, be dealt presently. The fact, however, remains that with Mahmud disappeared at least the glory—or what was left of it—of the Bahmani dynasty. His frequent complaints that he was a prisoner in his own palace in the firm grasp of others, his complaint to Yusuf 'Adil that nothing he owned really belonged to him, his being led by whoever was powerful enough to have the upper hand at Bidar, all this made the centre effete and useless. He himself was really indifferent as to which of his governors gained the upper hand, and it is related that in one of the campaigns of 'Imadu'l-Mulk against Amir Barid towards the end of the reign, which the former had undertaken to rid the Sultan of the guardianship of the Baridis, he would not leave his bath even when both sides were on the point of coming to grips for gaining ascendancy over him. When his would-be protector came to know of this serio-comic episode he flew into a rage, and the King quietly crossed over to Amir Barid's

camp.⁷³

As a matter of fact young as he was, he was too steeped in luxurious living to care much about affairs of state,⁷⁴ and went to the extent of extracting gold, silver and precious stones from the inlay work of the Turquoise Throne for the sake of his "Decanter and Goblet," and in this sense only followed in the footsteps of his more fortunate father. If there had been a really capable minister at the helm of the affairs at Bidar, he might have curbed the power of the governors and fiefholders, but neither Qasim Barid nor Amir Barid came to the standard even of Malik Hasan Nizamu'l-Mulk. Yusuf 'Adil and Malik Ahmad were, in fact, far more capable, and they might have tried to come and dictate terms at Bidar, but their power and ability were far too balanced and they were too much a match for each other to do so. In spite of the obvious antagonism between the capital of the kingdom and the provincial capitals, every one of the fiefholders had great respect for the person of the sovereign and not one of them really declared their independence in spite of what the later panygyrists of their dynasties like Burhan-i Ma'asir and Ferishta might have to say.⁷⁵ This mutual awe and respect for the centre persisted right up to the extinction of the dynasty not long after Mahmud's death.

II CULTURAL ASPECTS

COMING OF THE PORTUGUESE

Perhaps the most important fact, more important than the rise and fall of dynasties and one which in the long run changed the very face of India, was the appearance of Europeans on the Western coast of the Bahmani State. We have

already come across Europeans in the army of Muhammad I and there is a probability that there was a certain number of Europeans in the Bahmani and in Vijayanagar armies throughout the earlier period. But now the Europeans arrive not to serve but to conquer, convert and govern, and this time it is the Portuguese who open out a new road to success. They seem to be the first European people to have come all the way by sea to India and as is well-known, Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and was piloted to the Indian shores by the Muslim sailor 'Abdu'l-Mājid, arriving at Calicut on 20th May 1498.

No doubt one of the motives of this adventure must have been trade in spices and other articles which were then found only in the East, and East meant to the Europeans of those days India to a very large extent. The success of the Christian powers in putting an end to Muslim rule in Spain and the setting up of the Inquisition in the Peninsula must have given a great stimulus to the Portuguese to propagate the Faith by any means, even at the point of the sword, and this motive must have been added on to the comparatively innocent commercial enterprises. South India and the Deccan were then in great turmoil while the Bahmani State was rent as under by egotistic motives and internecine warfare, and the intrepid Portuguese must have felt it was their finest opportunity to found a political Empire based on both religion and commerce.⁷⁶

For the first few years the Portuguese sailed clear of the Bahmani State and contented with founding factories in the territories of the Zamorin of Calicut or with the Raja of Cochin. Factories were soon turned into fortresses and

agreements to open fight, while racial limits were over-stepped and Indians employed to fight their battles against their own kith and kin. The first stage of the adventure was over in 1505 when D'Almeida became the political head of the Portuguese dominions in the East. There was a set-back in January 1508 when Amir Hasan, the admiral of Qansauh el-Ghuri, King of Egypt and Malik Ayaz commanding the Gujarati fleet defeated the Portuguese at the battle off Chaul on the Bahmani coast, but the Portuguese recovered their strength and defeated Egyptian fleet off Diu in February 1509.⁷⁷

Almada was followed by Affonso d'Albuquerque as Governor, and almost the first act of the new Governor was to take possession of Goa, "the envy of the islands and ports of India"⁷⁸ which had been in possession of the Bahmani since Mahmud Gawan took it on 1.2.1472. It was on 28.2.1510 that, when the garrison of the town was away at Bijapur paying homage on the accession of Ibrahim 'Adil to the Masnad,⁷⁹ Albuquerque attacked and took it. They could not keep it in the first instance longer than May 20 when it was retaken by the army of Bijapur, but the Portuguese again besieged it on November 10, 1510, and when they failed to reduce it by force of arms they opened their purse strings and bribed the corrupt Thanadar, with the result that the town fell on November 25, followed by the murder of thousands of Muslim men, women and children and an "orgy of massacres and atrocities," followed by setting up of the "Holy Office" and mass conversion of the people to the Roman Catholic form of Christianity.⁸⁰ The cruel nature of these early European colonists

did not fail to produce a feeling of utter disgust in the minds of the people, and when Ahmed Nizamu'l-Mulk was carrying hostages from Bidar to Junair after one of his campaigns he was taunted by his opponents that he was doing something which even the "gebrs" (fireworshippers) and Europeans would not do.⁸¹

The conquest of Goa by the Portuguese introduced an entirely new element in the politics of the country and the method of playing off one state against the other was started by them almost as soon as the streets of the town and country side were cleared of the blood of those who had been massacred. Although Kamal Khan Dakhni, the chief minister of Yusuf 'Adil, had to enter into treaty with Albuquerque ceding Goa in perpetuity to the Portuguese,⁸² the Viceroy did not consider it improper to send an embassy to Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar asking for help against Ibrahim 'Adil, and persuading him to allow the Portuguese to build a fort at Bhatkal "so that he might be able to import horses into Vijayanagar territory freely" to be used against the Bijapur army.⁸³

"INDEPENDENCE OF GOVERNORS"

This brings us to the question of the measure of autonomy or freedom from the centre which was enjoyed by the Governors of the now effete Bahmani State. Although Yusuf 'Adil was the first to have shown a recalcitrant tendency after Mahmud Gawan's murder, it was Malik Ahmad who was directly affected by the intrigue of the court against his father Malik Hasan Nizamu'l-Mulk which led to the old man's murder. The new party alignments at Bidar had

largely obliterated the old racial distinctions between the Old-comers and the New-comers,⁸⁴ for now Qasim Barid the Turk has set his face against Yusuf 'Adil the Turk and had allied with the Dakhnis of the capital against another Dakhni Malik Ahmed. Henceforward, as has been alluded to in the last chapter, the feud was not based on the racial principles but on pure selfishness and on attempts to get full control of the person of the Sultan. The more sober of the tarafdars soon became disgusted with the orgies with which the court and the capital were plunged and were content with what they had in their own provinces and provincial capitals. On the other hand, Qasim Barid, and after him his son Amir Barid, wished to have full control even over the outlying provinces, but they were no match for the capable tarafdars like those of Bijapur, Junair and Tilangana. Hence the bitter and never-ending squabbles between them, resulting in the downfall of the kingdom.

It was after the Court had directly opposed the ambitions of Malik Ahmad that the later began to ponder over the exact relationship which ought to subsist between a weak suzerain and a strong and ambitious vassal. He was successful in his attempt to extricate his people from the effete and corrupt administration at the capital and he now definitely decided not to have anything more to do with the *entourage* of the Sultan. It is related by some of our authorities that about this time he not only "declared his independence" entitling himself Sultan Ahmad Nizam Shah Bahri, but actually sent a message to Yusuf 'Adil and Fathu'llah 'Imad-u'l-Mulk to follow suit which they did.⁸⁵ No doubt events at the capital must have incensed Nizam-u'l-Mulk a good deal,

and made it possible that, he "removed the Sultan's name from the *Khutbah* at least for the time being;"⁸⁶ but there are some interesting details even with regard to this, for we read that the removal of the Sultan's name from the *Khutbah* was regarded as an act of "great disrespect" to the Bahmani Sultan, his liege lord, by the local nobility, and he had to reinstate the deleted portion forthwith.⁸⁷ In the same way when he began to use the white umbrella (which was the emblem of royalty at Delhi as well as in Malwa and Gujarat), the people remonstrated and he had to put forward the very weak plea that he was doing so only in order to keep off the sun from him.⁸⁸ Moreover when Yusuf 'Adil tried to introduce the Shi'ite *Khutbah* at Bijapur he succeeded for a while but he was soon forced to withdraw his orders, and as regards Sultan Mahmud's name it was removed and inserted in the Friday sermons delivered at the Great Mosque at Bijapur much as circumstances permitted.⁸⁹

We are definitely told by Syed 'Ali Tabataba, the panegyrist of the Nizam Shahis, that it was Sultan Mahmud who granted the title of Ashraf-i Humayun Nizamu'l-Mulk Bahri to Malik Ahmad, the title of Majlis-i Rafi' to Yusuf 'Adil, and the title of Majlis-i A'la to Qutbu'l-Mulk.⁹⁰ The names of Yusuf 'Adil, Isma'il Adil and Mallu 'Adil are not accompanied by royal epithets in their inscriptions⁹¹ and at least as long as 921/1577 the fourth ruler of Bijapur, Ibrahim calls himself simply by his Bahmani titles of Majlis-i Rafi' 'Adil Khan and a minister of the Bahmani Sultan.⁹² It might also be mentioned that we are without any evidence to show that the first three rulers of Bijapur

had their names stamped on their coins, while Abdu'l-lah el-Makki definitely tells us that 'Imadu'l-Mulk had his *Khutbah* read for the first time only in 935/1529.⁷³ Moreover, we are fully aware that time and again, the Sultan ordered his fief-holders to send help to him against recalcitrant nobles and his orders were faithfully complied with, such as when Fathu'l-lah 'Imadu'l-Mulk and Malik Ahmad Nizamu'l-Mulk sent help for him to fight against Bahadur Gilani.

All this leads us to suppose that what happened in 895/-1490 was that the defiance to the state of affairs at the capital became more pronounced. But the spirit of loyalty to the throne was persistent, and neither Yusuf 'Adil nor his contemporaries at Junair and Berar really unfurled the banner of independence. As far as Ahmad Nizamu'l-Mulk is concerned, he really did what his great namesake Nizamu'l-Mulk Asaf Jah I did two centuries later, for both had become disgusted with the spirit rampant at the capital and both had become virtually autonomous while remaining steadfastly loyal to the person of their sovereign.

It will thus be seen that from all evidence in our possession the conclusion seems justified that neither Yusuf 'Adil nor Malik Ahmad Nizamu'l-Mulk nor Fathu'l-lah 'Imadu'l-Mulk ever declared their "independence" and the most we can say is that they took full advantage of the weakness at the centre and became autonomous in their own fiefs. If we glance at the political history of the reign, we will notice further evidence which points to the same definite conclusion. Such are the cases of Bahadur Gilani and Dastur Dinar, for at every step we see the King not only summoning these so-called "independent rulers" to help him, but distri-

buting jagirs and exchanging jagirs from one fief-holder to another. Although he did this at the instance of the fief-holders themselves, yet it was through him they had their wrongs redressed. There is a strange episode related to us by Ferishta which would perhaps put a stop to any further recapitulation of the theory that the fief-holders had become independent of the centre. The Battle of Gangawati (or Aland) comes to an end with the victory of Yusuf 'Adil aided by Qutbu'l-Mulk, and the question to be decided is what is to be done about Dastur Dinar's fiefs. With the dead all round the battlefield a carpet is spread on the ground and the Sultan asked to sit on it. Then a regular *proces verbal* is gone through and a case made by Yusuf 'Adil and Qutbu'l-Mulk against Qasim Barid, and possibly at His Majesty's suggestion they take a vow that they would put an end to Qasim Barid and the power of his faction with Nizamul-Mulk's and 'Imadu'l-Mulk's help.⁹⁴ Surely it was impossible for such a scene to be enacted if they were equals of the Sultan in prestige and if they had been rebels who had broken away from the kingdom. The fact was that they were still fief-holders of the Crown to all intents and purposes but as they cherished rancour against Qasim Barid's hegemony and the weakness of the central government had become proverbial they had asserted their power in distant parts of the kingdom and become autonomous.

MILITARY REFORM

Unfortunately we have no information in our Persian Chronicles regarding the military organization of the army of the Bahmanis besides the names of certain military officers

and the obviously exaggerated accounts of the deeds of valour performed by Bahmani armies. We have, however, a fuller description of the ranks and equipment in the Travels of Duarte Barbosa who was in India and the East between 1500 and 1517. It is better for us to quote Barbosa's words in his English translation. "The Moorish (Muslim) noblemen in general take with them the tents with which they form encampments on halting ground, when they travel or when they take the field to attack any town. They ride on high-pommelled saddles, and make much use of zojares,⁹⁴ and fight tied to their saddles, with long light lances which have a head a cubit long, square and very strong. They wear short coats padded with cotton, and many of them kilts of mail while their horses are well caparisoned with steel head-pieces. They carry maces and battle-axes and two swords, two or three Turkish bows hanging from the saddle with very long arrows, so that every man carries arms enough for two. When they go forth they take their wives with them and they employ pack bullocks on which they carry their baggage when they travel . . . The gentios of this Daquem (Deccan) kingdom are black and well built, the larger part of them fight on foot, but some on horse-back . . . The foot soldiers carry swords and daggers, bows and arrows. They are right good archers and their bows are long like those of England. They go bare from waist up but are clad below; they wear small turbans on their heads . . ."⁹⁵

As we have noticed while discussing Mahmud Gawan's reforms, the generals and sarlashkars commanding the forces were given large jagirs for the upkeep of the army under them, and it was partly the policy adopted by the Minister of

bringing to account the income derived from these jagirs which was one of the causes of his downfall. This was, perhaps the first attempt to bring the feudal holders of Jagir in direct relationship with the Crown.

An interesting attempt was made about 901/1496 to make the smaller nobles more attached to the person of the sovereign and that was the legislation with respect to the Mansabdars. At the instance of Qasim Barid, it was decreed that all Mansabdars, except big nobles, should enlist in the Royal Body-guard and were henceforward called Sarkardah or Hawalahdars. Ferishta says on good authority that the smaller Mansabdars who were thus made to enter the royal Body-guard were those with Mansabs ranging from 20 to 500 tankas while those receiving larger amounts were ranked among the nobles.⁷⁶ This reform belonged more or less to the same category as the reforms attempted by Mahmud Gawan twenty years previously, but there was this marked difference that while the *Khwaja* had been bold enough to bring the highest of the fief-holders into direct relation with the crown, Qasim Barid was content with leaving the higher nobles alone and to contact only with the lesser mansabdars.

SHI'Ī SM

The spirit of separatism on the part of the larger nobles was helped to some extent by the spread of the Shi'ite doctrine at Bijapur and elsewhere. We have noticed that there had been a continuous flux of Iranians into the Deccan for a long time and also alluded to the direct influence which they exercised on the court life and politics of the

kingdom. The tendencies of Firoz, as well as of Ahmad I, pointed in the same direction, and as has been mentioned, in all probability Mahmud Gawan was himself a Shi'ah. The reaction which set in after the minister's murder must have fanned the progress of the faith in the Deccan, for Yusuf 'Adil, the so-called adopted son of Mahmud Gawan, declared Shi'ism as his creed on a Friday in Zi'l-Hijjah, 908/ June 1503,⁹⁷ and three years later, in 911/1506 actually ordered the Shi'ite *khutbah* to be read from the pulpit of the Great Mosque of Bijapur.⁹⁸ As a matter of fact Sultan Mahmud, though remaining a Sunni after the tradition of his forefathers, seems to have definite leanings towards the priority of the claim of the fourth Caliph of Islam, and it is said that when he was overwhelmed by defeat and despondency he cried out for help from 'Ali. Still it was without parallel that a large fief-holder and governor of the status of Yusuf 'Adil should make a public declaration in favour of Shi'ism, and the other nobles availed themselves of the opportunity to din into the Sultan's ears that such a declaration was nothing short of blasphemy and treason. At the instance of Amir Barid, therefore, the Sultan sent summons to Qutbu'l-Mulk, 'Imadu'l-Mulk, *Khudawand Khan* and others to present themselves at the court and sent a farman to Yusuf 'Adil ordering him to put an end to the innovation. He ended the ultimatum, for such it was, with the significant line :

باسباب شوکت چنان غره شد

که خورشید در چشم او ذره شد

Although 'Imadu'l-Mulk and *Khudawand Khan* did not

obey the summons, the forces at the disposal of the King were so strong that Yusuf 'Adil considered it wiser to proceed to Berar and see whether he could bring 'Imadu'l-Mulk to his side. He was pursued as far as Gawil by royal forces with the Sultan himself at their head, but once the King was within the territory of Berar, royal etiquette demanded that there should be no further ado on the part of 'Imadu'l-Mulk who now treated the Sultan as his own King and told Yusuf 'Adil rather bluntly that he should vacate his territory. He, however, sent messages to Nizamu'l-Mulk and Qutbu'l-Mulk that what they were doing led towards strengthening the hand of Amir Barid and persuaded them to return to their own territories, while Amir took the helpless Sultan back to Bidar.¹⁰⁰

The tug of war between various great personalities of the kingdom had its repercussions even in foreign politics. Outside the borders of India the fourth quarter of the tenth century A. H., was a period of great proselytising activity on the part of the Shi'ite sect, perhaps its greatest protagonist being Shah Isma'il Safawi of Iran.¹⁰¹ In 920/1514 Shah Isma'il sent an Ambassador to Bijapur with costly presents for his namesake, who received him with great cordiality. The ambassador was also well received by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and by Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar. But perhaps in order to spite Isma'il 'Adil and partly to vindicate his own Sunnism Amir Barid took a different view of things and detained him for fully two years before he was allowed to leave Bidar. It was only after Isma'il 'Adil had written to Amir Barid and the Sultan that the envoy was allowed to proceed to Bijapur where he was received with great *eclat*.

On hearing all this Shah Isma'il Safawi was greatly pleased at the conduct of the ruler of Bijapur and sent him costly presents "addressing him as Shah" in the autograph letter he now sent to him. Evidently this was something new to Isma'il 'Adil, and in recognition of his alliance with Iran, he ordered that in future his "Mughal" soldiers should have a twelve peaked (Shi'ah) cap as a part of their uniform.¹⁰²

At the same time if we study the inscriptions of the period we find that Ibrahim continued to be a Sunni although he might have had an inclination towards Shi'ism. Thus one of his inscriptions, that on the bastion side of the gateway of the Citadel of Bijapur, is preceded by the Shi'ah *kalimah* in its entirety and dated 945/1539, while on the other hand it is most significant that on his great mauseum (north side, pediment above the central door) there is an inscription recording the names of God, Muhammad, the four orthodox Caliphs, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman and 'Ali, in the order of their succession, as well as "all other companions (of the Apostle of Islam) may God be pleased with them." This enumeration and style could be authorised only by one who was deeply Sunni in faith and who considered the first three Caliphs to be the rightful successors of the Prophet. This goes to prove that whatever his pretensions may have been *vis a vis* the Shah of Persia, Ibrahim died a Sunni, and as Dr. Nazim says, it was left to his son and successor, 'Ali 'Adil I to declare Shi'ism to be the state religion of Bijapur.¹⁰³

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

We have little to notice in the Bahmani art and architecture of the period except a general decadence at Bidar, while

the provincial fiefholders and governors were too busy with their internecine feuds to help the advance of culture in their own spheres. We have already seen that Qasim Barid had attained some eminence in calligraphy, and the beautiful inscriptions on the walls of "Shah Nashin" in the Rangin Mahal, some of them worked in mother-of-pearl, testify to the progress this art was making in the time of his grandson 'Ali Barid. Even a higher plane has to be found for the beautiful calligraphy executed by Sultan Shihabu'd-din Mahmud himself over the arch of the Sharzah Darwaza of the Bidar Fort in 909/-1504. But this cannot be said of the architecture at Bidar as it evolved during the remaining days of the dynasty. The pavillion known as the Rangin Mahal itself looks insignificant compared to the grand palace of the Sultans nearby, and its rather hideous wooden brackets, which, by the way, are bad copies of the brackets in old Chalukyan temples, its very low doors and small rooms are puny compared to the Bahmani palaces and pavilions and still more puny compared to the architecture as it evolved later at Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. No doubt there is "the grand display of the old tile and mother-of-pearl work" and the design "has the most beautiful and elegant floral and calligraphical devices"¹⁰ but the whole *ensemble* is petty and "vision" has not got the depth which would have made the ornamentation really worth while. The tremendous contrast which is apparent between the expansiveness and loftiness of the ideal as embodied in the Madrasah a few furlongs off and the so-called Shah Nashin, or the Royal Seat built by the Baridis testifies to the great gulf between the two ideals.

The Bahmanis had in fact ceased to effect the common

life of the people long before their final extinction as a dynasty. The culture which was to take the place of the Bahmani culture was multi-centric and there were marked differences in the shapes it took at Ahmadnagar, Berar, Bidar, Bijapur and Golconda. There was, however, at least one trait which was common to all these centres of the cultures of the Deccan, and that was the vigorous admixture of Hindu ideas everywhere. Thus the work which Firoz Shah had started a century earlier was to see its fulfilment in the five states which were to take the place of the great edifice the Bahmanis had helped to erect.

NOTES

1. Full name in *Tab.*, 430 as well as in an inscription on Syedu's-Sadat's spring at Bidar, for which see *Epigr. Indo-Mosl.*, 1925-26, p. 18.
2. It is related by *Fer.* I, 374 that whenever the Sultan wanted more money than was given to him by Amir Barid he was told that the whole of the Deccan was under the authority of the Governors, and what was left as the King's domain was not sufficient for keeping up the emblems of royalty.
3. The position of Sultan Mahmud and his even more unworthy successors was something like that of the Raja of Satara during the later part of the eighteenth century who had no political power left to him but was regarded as the centre of a big Maratha Confederacy.
4. Mahmud born, 875/1471; *Fer.* I, 350. The printed edition of *Munt.* III, 116, says that "Syed Khalifa" was on his left. This is evidently wrong, and there is a probability that the learned editor has read خليفة for حبيب.

5. Thus in *Bur. Fer.* II, 176, calls Qasim a Circassion. It is noticeable that party alignments, instead of being based on certain principles, are now taking a purely personal turn. For this see also section I of this chapter.
6. It is interesting to note that Mahmud Gawan's biographer, Mulla 'Abdu'l-Karim Hamadani, who is said to be buried beside the martyr himself at Bidar, was present at the ceremony; *Fer.* I. 361.
7. *Munt.* III, 116, gives the probable reason. It is interesting to compare this tradition of entering the capital without feudal levies with the practice in Republican Rome when the "Imperium" of an "Imperator" or commander terminated outside the walls of the city. The first to break this time-honoured rule was Julius Caesar, and by so doing he cut at the root of republicanism in Italy.
8. Thus in *Fer.* I. 363.
9. Malik Ahmad the avowed son of Malik Hasani Nizam-u'l-Mulk, was reputed to be the son of Muhammad Shāh Lashkari by a pretty Brahmin girl; it is said that the boy was given over to Malik Hasan according to the dictates of certain astrologers. *Haft Iqlim* 63; *Bur.* 168. These stories were probably fabricated to give a genealogy to the descendants of the Malik Ahmad who became King of Ahmadnagar. See also *Fer.* II, 93.
10. *Fer.* I. 363.
11. *Fer.* I, 363, 364; *Bur.* 135; *Munt.* III. 117.
12. *Fer.* I. 364.
13. All this shows that party loyalties were disappearing and giving place to the purest selfish motives.
14. Thus in *Ferishta. Tab.* 431, says that it was 'Adil Khan who sent word to the King that the nobles had rebelled at the instance of Dasturu'l-Mulk. He goes on to say that the King himself proceeded eastward and defeated the rebels at Rajahmundri.
15. *Fer.* I. 365; *Bur.* 135.

16. *Bur.* 137 ; *Fer.* I. 365. While going through the few years of Nizamu'l-Mulk's ascendancy one is forced to contrast it with Mahmud Gawan's long leadership. Mahmud refused to fly even when his life was in imminent danger while Nizamu'l-Mulk called his son from Junair in full force when he thought he was helpless at the capital. During the five years of Nizamu'l-Mulk's ascendancy he managed to alienate not only the Turks but the Habashis and Dakhnis as well, and even those who he thought, were his friends, hit him and hit him hard when they had their chance.
17. *Fer.* as above.
18. *Bur.* 135.
19. *Fer.* I. 365.
20. Thus in *Fer* ; *Munt.* says he was a *Khurasani*.
21. *Munt.* III. 120. Sultan Quli, the progenitor of the Qutb Shahi dynasty, was one of those who saved the Sultan's life that day. *Tarikh-i Qutb Shahi*, Mss. p. 37. Mr. A. M. Siddiqi says in his *Tarikh-i Golkunda*, 20, that it was on this occasion that he was given the title of Qutbu'l-Mulk, but evidently it was not so as is proved from the very next page, 21. *Bur.*, 149, says that the title was granted at Jamkhandi after Bahadur Gilani had been defeated by the King. The Palace on the Shah Burj still exists and at present houses the District Treasury.
22. *Munt.* III. 122.
23. *Fer.* I. 366.
24. *Bur.* 141.
25. *Bur.* 141 ; *Munt.* III. 126. Balkunda in the Nizamabad district, Hyderabad State 19°05', 78°20' E.
26. *Bur.* 143, 144, says that the battle was fought a year before the King's death, but this is very unlikely. Moreover Qasim Barid had died long before. Deoni, about 36 miles north west of Bidar.
27. *Fer.* II, 93, says that Mahmud Gawan had given these forts in charge of the Maratha chieftains "in whom he placed his reliance." *Shivneri*, the hill fort

- over-looking Junair, in the Poona district; 19°12' N., 73°52' E.
28. Thus in *Fer.* *Bur.* 175, says that Ahmad was sent by the Sultan to pacify the Konkan territory. Moreover *Bur.* 190, avers that the title was granted to Ahmad on the minister's death.
Dandarajpuri, now called Janjira, formerly capital of the state of that name, now included in the Bombay State; 18°10' N., 73° E.
29. *Fer.* II. 94.
30. *Munt.* III. 124.
31. *Bur.* 188. The whole series of episodes is obscure and the sequence of event different in *Ferishta* and *Burhan*.
32. *Nadiru'z-Zamani* in *Bur.* 193; *Fer.* II. 94 has *Bahaduru'z-Zamani* which is a wrong construction and perhaps unlikely.
33. *Fer.* II. 95; *Bur.* 195.
34. *Fer.* II. 95.
Qadirabad, near Jalna in the Aurangabad district, Hyderabad State; 19°51' N, 17°56' E.
Patan, Headquarters of a taluqa in Aurangabad district, Hyderabad State; 19°28' N., 75°24' E.
35. "Battle of Grove"; *Fer.* II. 95. *Fer.* II. 98, says that it was in 900/1495 that Ahmadnagar was founded while Nizamul-Mulk was proceeding to Bidar to help Qutbu'l-Mulk and the Sultan against Yusuf 'Adil. See below,
Ahmadnagar founded in 895/1490; *Ma'asiru'l-Umara* III, 906. *Patkapur* on the site of Ahmadnagar.
Jeur Ghat, in the Akalkot State; 17°29' N., 76°6' E.
36. *Fer.* I. 368.
37. Date in *Fer.* II. 98. *Fer.* II. 4. says that Qasim Barid really wanted to get hold of Bijapur somehow. *Sewell and Aiyangar*, p. 231, put this down under 1492. *Ferishta* says that the name of the general commanding the Vijayanagar forces was "Temraj" but it may well be the result of mixing his name up with the boy ruler of Vijayanagar.

38. These territories must have been in a fluid state and constantly changing hands owing to the weakness or rather, absence of Central Government. For Bahadur, see below.
39. *Fer.* II, 5. *Fer.* quotes a work '*Adilnamah* that the battle took place at Naldrug and that Nizamu'l-Mulk was not present on the occasion. Also *Fer.* II. 368.
40. *Fer.* II. 7, says that the battle took place either at Bidar or at Naldrug.
41. *Tab.* 433.
42. *Fer.* I. 368. *Panhala*, Fort on the spin of a chain of hills, now in Kolhapur State, 16°48' N. 74°08' E.
43. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, I, 204.
44. Thus in *Fer.* I. 368; *Tab* 432 has twenty ships. The date given is 899, but this is evidently wrong, as the Bahadur's offer of surrender which was later, was received in the royal camp on 20.7.898.
45. The actual letter is produced in *Bur.* 147 and in *Fer.* I, 368 with slight variations.
46. *Fer.* II. 80. *Tab.* 432 says that Kamal Khan was sent by land and Safdar Khan by sea, though *Fer.* I. 868, calls both "Bahmani admirals."
47. *Fer.* II. 8.
48. *Bur.* 149, however, says that the title of Qutbu'l-Mulk and the jagir were granted after the defeat of Bahadur Gilani. See above note 21.
49. *Tab.* 141.
50. Thus *Fer.* I. 369; *Tab.* has 25.7.899/24.4.1492. The name of the envoy is given in *Tab.* 434, where it is related that the heir-apparent was born "outside the walls of Miraj." *Bur.* 149, gives the name of Bona. After his defeat Bona, who was a Hindu chief, was received in the royal presence and greatly honoured.
51. *Bur.* 152.
52. Date in *Bur.* 153; rest from *Fer.* I. 370.
53. *Fer.* II. 99.
54. *Fer.* I. 8, says that he wished to become "lord of coinage" like others, but as we will see later, nor one of these rulers ever coined money. It is also doubtful if

Dastur had his *Khutba* read as Ferishta says, as his knowledge of numismatics is always faulty.

55. *Bur.* 145; *Fer.* I. 371.
56. On I, 371, *Fer.* says that the battle was fought at Gangawati, while on II, 9, he says that it was fought at Aland. It is interesting to note the office of Qazi 'Askar here, as he was originally a Turkish Officer corresponding to the English Lord Chancellor, and under the Qanun Namah of Muhammad II, he was given a seat to the left of Sadr-i A'zam. The mention of this office at Gulbarga perhaps reminds one of the claims of the 'Adil Shahis to have been descended from the Sultans of Turkey. See De la Jonquiere, *Histoire de l' Empire Ottomane*, II, 119.
57. *Fer.* I. 372.
58. *Fer.* II, 176.
59. *Bur.* 158.
60. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 9, 88, 106, quoting the Telugu poem, Varahapuranam and Pari-jatapaharanamu.
61. Banerji, *op-cit.*, 315, 316.
Kovilkonda in Mahbubnagar district, Hyderabad State, 16°45' N., 77°47' E.
62. Dr. Sreenivasachar, *History of Warangal*, in *Hyderabad Arch. Report*, 1934-35, p. 33. The learned author's theory of the indentivity of Sarang Khan with Shitab Khan seems baseless. On p. 34 there seems to be too much theorising about Sitapati being the "Hindu name" of Sarang Khan.
See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 133.
63. *Bur.* 157. S. and A. puts this expedition down to 1492.
64. Banerji, *Op-cit.* Kondapalli must have been in the hands of Krishna Deva Raya on May 4, 1516, the date of an inscription recording the grant of land by the Vijayanagar Governor; see *Hyderabad Arch. Rep.* 1934-35 p. 37; Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 140. There is a story that Krishna Deva Raya advanced to Bidar itself and razed its fortifications, but there is no evidence to prove it and may be

regarded as groundless; moreover there is, of course, no mark of the razing of the fortifications at all. The episodes connected with Krishna Deva Raya's conflict with Sultan Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk are very obscure.

Amaravati, site of ancient Buddhist remains, in the Guntur district, Madras Province, 16°40' N., 80°23' E. Pratap Rudra of Orissa, 1496-1539.

65. *Bur.* 158, 159; *Munt.* III. 129.

66. *Fer.* II. 176, says that Qasim had his *Khutbah* read at Ossa, Qandhar and Udgir, but this is even more unlikely than the so-called *Khutbahs* at Junair and elsewhere. With the Sultan in his grips time and again it was surely not necessary to alienate the sympathy of the "Friends of the Crown" for a mere show.

67. Thus in *Bur.* 161 and *Fer.* I. 373; *Munt.* III, 128 has 914. 916 is no doubt the correct date for Yusuf 'Adil's death as his chronogram reads *بگفتا نما نده شهنشاه عادل*

("Says that the just Emperor is no more.")

68. There is an evident misprint in the Hyderabad edition of Burhan-i-Ma'asir, 161, where it is related that Fathu'l-lah's territories were restored to 'Alau'd-din in 906; of course this should be 916.

69. *Bur.* 164.

70. *Munt.* III. 129; *Fer.* II, 16.

71. *Bur.* 161, 163.

72. *Bur.* 166, says he was then barely 37 years 2 months old. Ferishta, I., 374, says that he reigned for 35 years and twenty days but this is evidently wrong as Muhammad II died definitely on 5.2.887 and counting from there to 4.12.924 it makes 36 years, 10 months. 4.12.924 H., falls on 6.12.1518 C. not on 26.12.1518 (as King has computed in his *History of the Bahmani dynasty*); see Sewell and Aiyangar, 242. Of course Sewell is entirely wrong in putting down 18.12.1517 as the date of Mahmud's death in his *A Forgotten Empire*, 113. *Bur.* 204, says that Mahmud died on 20.12.924 which seems incorrect by a few days.

73. *Fer. I.* 374; *Tab.* 436.
74. Thus in *Haft Iqlim*, 62. Spoliation of the Throne, *Fer. I.* 365, 367.
75. It is remarkable that the chronicles composed at Delhi like *Muntakhabu'l Lubab* do not call them by royal titles.
76. For an epitomised account of the religious influences at work in the attempted Portuguese conquest of India, see E. M. Pope, *India in Portuguese Literature*, Goa, 1937, pages 30 ff.
77. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, 245.
78. Thus Mahmud Gawan, *Riyaz*, to a wazir, xlvii, 180. Albuquerque, Viceroy, 1509-1518.
79. *Fer. II.*, however says that the Portuguese had already arrived at Goa in the time of Yusuf 'Adil and had then put "all the inhabitants" to the sword, but Yusuf had then managed to recapture the town. Sewell says that the second capture took place on 1.3.1510, i.e., a day later than the date given by Ferishta.
80. *Commissariat*, 245. Bribery and corruption, *Fer.*, II., 14.
81. *Fer. II.* 95.
82. *Fer. II.*, 14.
83. A good account of the arrival of Portuguese and later events will be found in Dunham, *History of Spain and Portugal*, quoted in *Historian's History of the World X*, 479 ff.
84. There were of course lapses, thus after Kamal Khan Dakhani's murder at Bijapur the regent Punji Khatun issued a declaration that henceforward Bijapur was to be a "Mughal State."
85. *Munt. III.* 124 says that this occurred in 895/1490, when messengers were sent to Yusuf 'Adil and Fathu'l-lah 'Imadu'l-Mulk; *Fer. I.*, 367, says that what was done was that the name of the king was removed from the *khutbah*. *Zaf.* 170 says that 'Imadu'l-Mulk had his *khutbah* read in 935/1529, followed by Malik Barid and then by Nizamu'l-Mulk.

This means that this emblem of "independence," was not adopted in the time of Sultan Mahmud by these nobles.

86. *Fer. I.* 367.

87. *Fer. II.* 97. *Fer. I.* 373 says that Qutbu'l-Mulk dropped the king's name from the *khutbah* but continued to send a tribute of 5,000 hunks to the Sultan every month.

88. *Fer. II.* 95.

89. For *khutbah* and *sikkah* as marks of sovereignty see Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 72.

90. *Bur.* 190, 204.

91. *Egipr. Ind. Mos.*, 1915-16, p. 27.

It may be noticed that Yusuf 'Adil and his three immediate successors are buried at Gogi in the Gulbarga district near the mortal remains of Yusuf 'Adil's preceptor, Shaikh Jalalu'd-din Mahammad, alias, Chanda Husaini (died 10.8.858/5.8.1454) and that their graves have no inscription whatever except the ones which have recently been affixed there at the instance of the Hyderabad Government. See *Egipr. Indo-Mos.*, 1915-16, p. 5.

92. *Mem. Arch. Survey of India*, No. 49 (Bijapur Inscriptions) p. 26, Inscriptions No. 3256 on Khwaja Sunbul's mosque; this is dated Shuhar San 918= 925/1517, and records the bestowal of the title of 'Adil Khan to the ruler. For Shuhur San and its comparative tables see the same pp. 93-102. Dr. Nazim observes that the Shuhur San, or the Hijri solar year probably started in 743/1342 or 744/1344 and began in May, or else with the accession of Isma'il Mulkh in 745. The year was confined to the South. In the North it was Akbar the Great who created the Fasli or Solar Hijri era by calling 993 Lunar Hijri, 993 Solar Hijri or Fasli and beginning the new calculation as from 29.3.993 which fell on 21.3.1585. It is for this reason that the modern Fasli year in vogue in certain parts of India is wrong by 993/56 or about 26½ years. See Abu'l-Fadl, *Akbar*

Nama, Lucknow 1881, Vol. II, pp. 9, 10, 14. Incriptions No. 325 (p. 26) and 439 (p. 47) call the ruler Ibrahim 'Adil Shah and are dated 945/1539, so the "independence" must have been "declared" about 944/1538. This was noticed perhaps for the first time by Dr. Nazim on p. 6 and I was later reminded of it by Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Curator of the Hyderabad Museum.

93. *Zaf.* 170.

94. *Fer.* II. 9.

95. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Hakluyt Society, London, Intr., lxiii. The original word used by Barbosa for Muslims is *Moros* and for Hindus *gentios*. Longworth Dames has rather arbitrarily translated *gentios* as 'heathens'; in the quotation, however, I have preferred to retain the original *gentios*. 'Zojares'; *Ar.* a's-Sar' = whip.

96. *Fer.* I. 371.

97. Date in *Munt.* 126. *Bur.* 159 says that the Civil War occurred in 909/1504 but *Fer.* I. 372 and II. 9 put the innovation in 910/1505. 911 seems to be a correct date as it coincided with the attempt of Yusuf 'Adil to introduce the Isna'ashari *khutbah* at Bijapur. Date of Yusuf 'Adil's conversion, *Fer.* II, 11.

98. *Fer.* I. 372. For the Shi'ite influence in the Bahmani kingdom and the probability that Mahmud Gawan was himself a follower of that doctrine, see Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan*, p. 195, n. 36; Yusuf only attempted to declare what must already have been the belief of a fairly large minority of the population. The struggle is significant as it was perhaps the first time in the history of India that a war was fought for the sake of Religion. Such became a common occurrence later in Europe, but my reading is that however much religion was brought to a fore by interested politicians in India, it was entirely for personal gains that actual wars were fought.

Here it must be mentioned that Yusuf 'Adil's Shi'ism was of a very moderate and tolerant type, and *Fer.*

II, 11, is explicit that he would never allow any one to decry any *Khalifa*, with the result that "there was complete harmony between the Sunnis and the Shi'ah" at Bijapur.

99. "He was so much puffed up with the pride and insolence that even the bright sun seemed a mere speck to him." The line in which help is invoked from 'Ali is the following, as in *Fer. I. 374*.

در بحر غم فتادم و اسواج لے عدد

تاچنه دست و پا بزیم یا علی مدد

"I have fallen into the Sea of Grief; and innumerable waves are rolling over me;

O 'Ali how long will I have to go on beating the water with my hands and feet?"

The Bahmanis from Firoz onward were no doubt Sunnis but leant towards what is sometimes turned *tafzilism*, the doctrine that the first three *Khalifas* may have been correctly installed but 'Ali was superior to them in many ways.

100. *Fer. I. 372, 377*. The episode is mentioned slightly differently in *Bur. 160*, but the essentials are identical.
101. Shah Isma'il Safawi, Shah of Persia, 1511-1523. Shi'ism declared State religion of Iran, 1502. Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, 1526-1537.
102. *Fer. II.*, 18, 19. Here as elsewhere in the Deccan, "Mughal" means Persian.
103. Inscriptions, *Mem. Arch. Sur. India*, No. 49, pp. 47 and 38. Dr. Nazim's reference, p. 6. Isma'il 'Adil, 1516-1534; Mallu 'Adil, 1534-1535; Ibrahim 'Adil 1535-1557.
104. Yazdani, *Antiquities of Bidar*, p. 14.

CHAPTER 13
THE LAST STAGE
7.12.1518-1538

PERSPECTIVE

We have dealt with the Political History of the later Bahmanis as far as the death of Shihabu'd-din Muhmud, and as has already been noticed, that history is confined mainly to the history of Bidar and a few miles round. Although theoretically the whole expanse of territory comprised in the dominions of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Berar, Ossa and Qandhar, and Tilangana proper, was part of the Bahmani kingdom, the immediate sway of the Sultan was confined to his personal domains which had gradually receded almost to a nullity. We have purposely refrained from giving details of what was happening in the outlying territories as they really belong to the individual histories of the rising states in the nothern, western and eastern territories of the Bahmani State. But before going any further to describe the end of the Kingdom itself it is better to pause and glance rapidly at what was happening outside the immediate vicinity of the capital, in order to estimate the correct environment of the last scions of a once great dynasty.

We have already traced the fortunes of the Portuguese up to the capture, loss and recapture of Goa and the final

session of the territory by Isma'il 'Adil of Bijapur in 1514. In the immediate south a great power had risen in the person of Krishna Deva Raya, perhaps the greatest sovereign of Vijayanagar, who succeeded his brother Vira Narasimha in the Middle of 1509 and rule for twenty years.¹ While the Bahmani kingdom was fast going down an almost vertical slope and the newly formed states were measuring strength against each other, Vijayanagar in the person of Krishna Deva Raya was increasing in power step by step. Almost immediately after he was crowned in the Great Hall at Vijayanagar in 1510, the Portuguese Viceroy, Albuquerque sent a special embassy with Father Luis as its head, asking the Raya to make common cause against Bijapur and the ally of the Muslims, the Zamorin of Calicut, but that embassy did not achieve the purpose for which it was sent, and Father Luis was murdered.²

It has already been noticed how Krishna Deva Raya had forced the Bahmanis to cede Raichur and Mugal, and the Gajapatis to clear off from the east coast towns. There were two men, however, who proved too much of a match for the stalwart Vijayanagar ruler, i. e., Yusuf 'Adil of Bijapur, and Qutbu'l-Mulk, Governor of Tilangana. We read of frequent scuffles between Yusuf 'Adil and Krishna Deva Raya in which the latter was not always victorious, and Qutbu'l-Mulk seems to have got better of the southerner in the east as we find him endowing some villages near Kondapalli and Bezwada for a charitable purpose in 1524, showing that he must have reconquered these parts before that year.³

This rapid glance at events in the west, south and east would go to prove one thing more than all else, and it is the

fact that the Bahmani Sultan was more or less out of the picture. Shihabu'd-din Mahmud was, as we have seen, regarded as the pivot of the kingdom while he lived, and his name was used for finding a moral backing by all the great fiefholders during their endless feuds; but the Sultan himself ceased to have any power whatsoever towards the end of his reign, and the rulers of Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar carried on campaigns of conquest on their own account. The position of the Bahmani Sultan was no more than that of a *roi faineant* even in Mahmud's reign, and as time passed, people outside Bidar ceased to take any notice of him. With Mahmud's death the Bahmani Sultan became a complete nonentity as will now be seen.

AHMED IV

7.12.1518-15.12.1520

Amir Barid was so powerful at the capital that he would have usurped the throne himself and thus forestalled the act of his descendants, but he was wise enough to foresee that whatever power he might have at Bidar, he was no match for the great fiefholders who had set up their abode at Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and elsewhere. It was mainly for this reason that he put Mahmud's son, Ahmad, on the throne. Ahmad Shah was, however, in the closest grips of his prime minister, for Amir Barid was careful not only that he should not leave the palace but he actually set about to spoil his life and morals, for it is said that he ordered that no commoner should reach the Sultan's presence except dancers and musicians.¹

Up to Mahmud Shah's death Qutbu'l-Mulk used to send

a considerable amount of money to the Sultan by way of tribute, but when he saw that the new Sultan was too weak even to be a pawn in the game of politics, he ceased to send his *peshkash* and the new Sultan was forced to break up the ancient crown of the Bahmanis, worth fifteen lacs of rupees,⁵ and sell the jewels in order to provide himself with the means of ease and pleasure. When Amir Barid heard this, he flew into a rage, and had a number of those who had arranged the sale killed, especially when he found that the crown jewels had already been exported elsewhere. The puppet Sultan then sent word to his brother-in-law, Isma'il 'Adil of Bijapur, complaining to him of the harsh treatment of his minister, and Isma'il sent him costly presents in reply. But before these presents could reach the capital the Sultan was dead. This was on 4.1.927/15.12.1520.⁶

'ALAU'D-DIN SHAH

28.12.1520 - 5 3.1523

Amir Barid's wish to become King was rekindled with Ahmad's death and it is related how some of the minister's friends actually petitioned him to wear the crown,⁷ but again courage failed him, and after pondering over the situation for a fortnight he put the crown on the head of Ahmad's son 'Alaud'd-din, on 17.1.927/28.12.1520.⁸ The new Sultan was different from his father and grandfather, for he was "wise and courageous" and shunned wine and pleasure as he fully realised that both his father and grandfather had, in a way, been ruined by intemperance. He called Amir Barid to his presence and told him that his father had over-indulged in immoral pleasures, but he had made up his mind

to remain sober and was willing to take part in affairs of state. So he begged him either to free him from the shackles of secret service men who suffocated the very life out of him, or else that he should be allowed to proceed to Mecca and end his life there. On this Amir Barid freed him.

'Alau'd-din was too shrewd or too foolish to be content with his lot and he began to conspire to put an end not only to the life of Amir Barid but also do away with the whole Baridi tribe. He did not know the hold the minister had on the affairs of state, and it was not long before the conspiracy leaked out and the partisans of the Sultan were all tortured to death. The Sultan himself was dethroned on 17.1.929/5.3.1523 after having been a puppet sovereign for two lunar years and three months.⁹

WALIYU'L-LAH

5.3.1523—1526.

Amir Barid now put Sultan Mahmud's son, Waliyu'l-lah, on the throne.¹⁰ Waliyu'l-lah tried to become free of the net drawn around him with the result that he was imprisoned in his own zanana and lived on the "bread and clothes" provided to him by his master, the Mayor of the Palace.¹¹ Possibly in order to be linked with the royal house Amir Barid married the pretty Bibi Sitti, Ahmad's widow, who must now have been just twenty-three.¹² Amir Barid was now a royal kinsman and was free to enter the zanana apartments of the palace, and being infatuated with the Queen herself who now appeared before him, began to make love to her.¹³ This must naturally have lead to protests from the poor Sultan, with the result that about the beginning of

932/1526 the Sultan was poisoned after "reigning" for three years.¹⁴

This is what was happening at Bidar. In other parts of the Deccan the Bahmani tradition continued, and although there could have been no practical influence of the Crown left at Bijapur, we find Ibrahim still calling himself a mere Wazir or minister of 'Badshah Waliyu'l-lah' in 931/1525 and 932/1526 in an inscription commemorating the erection of a mosque and a tablet affixed to an 'Ashur-khanah at Sagar'.¹⁵

KALIMU'L-LAH

1526-1538

The last 'king' of the House of Bahman Shah was Waliyu'l-lah's brother Kalimu'l-lah¹⁶ who was now put on the throne but was closely guarded by his warder Amir Barid. A new political force had now appeared on the Indian horizon in the person of Zahiru'd-din Muhammad Babar who had defeated Ibrahim Lodi on the plain of Panipat on 10.7.932/22.4.1526, and now practically all the Deccan potentates, i.e., the rulers of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Berar and Burhanpur sent their envoys to Delhi offering congratulations to the Mughal conqueror.¹⁷ Kalimu'l-lah also wrote to Babar offering him Berar and Daulatabad (provinces which he no longer controlled) if he would help him in throwing off the Baridi yoke.¹⁸ The news, however, leaked out and fearing his life was in danger the Sultan fled to Bijapur in 934/1528. Feeling however, that he was not welcome even at Isma'il's capital he thought it prudent to leave for Ahmadnagar. He was at first received well by Burhan Nizam'l-Mulk who thought

that he could use him for the eventual conquest of Bidar. Burhan was so considerate to the Sultan that he made him sit on the throne and actually stood with folded hands before him. But he was advised that if he repeated his homage it would cut at the root of his own prestige and loosen discipline, with the result that Burhan never again called Kalimu'l-lah to him in open court.

We are only told that Kalimu'l-lah soon breathed his last at Ahmadnagar and that either he died a natural death or was poisoned and that his coffin was brought to Muhammadabad-Bidar. His mortal remains lie in a lowly tomb in the same line as the resting places of his glorious ancestors.¹⁹ It will, however, be interesting to find out the actual date of the extinction of the dynasty and incidentally to know the influence with the name of Bahman exercised on the mind of the great and the small people right up to the end.

It is a well-known fact that numismatic evidence often comes to the rescue of a student of history who might be confronted with the difficulties of chronological sequence. Kalimu'l-lah is said to have left Bidar for good in 934/1528, but we possess coins struck in his name as late as 942 and 943/1536 and 1537, so the Sultan must have stayed at Ahmadnagar for a number of years²⁰ Of course instances are to be found elsewhere of coins being struck in the name of a sovereign and finding currency years after his death,²¹ and had it not been for two remarkable inscriptions at Bijapur, the surmise might have been regarded with suspicion. The first inscription is that fixed outside the wall of the citadel referring to the capture of Mudgal by "Majlis-i Rafi" 'Adil Khan."²² The inscription is without a date but we are aware

that it was after 1529, probably in 1530, that Isma'il 'Adil captured the Doab including Mudgal from Achyuta Raya who had succeeded his father Krishna Deva Raya as ruler of Vijayanagar. The other tablet is fixed to a ruined wall near *Khwaja Sumbul's* mosque which is dated 943/1537 (i. e. the date of the coins referred to above) and where the fourth ruler of Bijapur is simply called "Majlis-i Rafi' 'Adil Khan."²³ The fact that the ruler of Bijapur should be calling himself Majlis-i Rafi' (the title granted to him by Kalimu'l-lah's father Mahmud Shah) right up to the exact date of the last coin struck in Kalimu'l-lah's name is, to say the least, very significant.

This leads us to two other inscriptions at Bijapur both of 945/1539, one on a bastion inside the south gateway of the citadel where the ruler is called "Majlis-i Rafi' Ibrahim 'Adil Khan"²⁴ and that on the 'Idgah where the title granted by the Bahmani Sultan is finally cast off and the ruler is called "Ibrahim 'Adil Shah."²⁵ These two inscriptions go to prove almost conclusively that the person whom Ibrahim regarded as his liege lord was living in 943/1537 but must have died in or before 945, i. e., some time about 944/1538.²⁶ There is also the probability that not finding the political atmosphere of Ahmadnagar congenial to him, Kalimu'l-lah may have moved on to Bijapur again and may have died there.²⁷

On Kalimu'l-lah's death his son Ilhamu'l-lah knew that Bidar was not the place for him, so he proceeded to Mecca in disguise never to return.²⁸ Thus ended the Bahmani dynasty after ruling over the Deccan for one hundred and ninety one solar years, giving place to a number of succession states some of which struggled on for another hundred and fifty years to be absorbed finally in the Mughal Empire.

NOTES

1. Krishna Deva Raya, succeeded his brother, Vira Narasimha, in 1509 and ruled till 1529 when he was himself succeeded by his brother, Achyuta (1529-1542)
2. The Muslims and Zamorin, Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorin's of Calicut*, Calicut, 1938; Krishna Ayyar, *Islam in Malabar* (Transactions of the Indian History Congress, 1941, Hyderabad, p. 271).
3. Sewell and Aiyangar, *op. cit.*
4. *Munt.*, III. 132.
5. Four lacs of Hons; *Fer.*, I. 374.
6. Ruled 2 years 1 month according to *Fer.*, I. 374 and one year eight months according to *Taz.*, fol. 20 a. Burhan is silent with regard to Mahmud's successors altogether.
7. *Munt.*, III. 133.
8. *Fer.* I. 378.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Not 'Alau'd-din's brother as in *Fer.*, nor his cousin as in *Munt.* III. 136. His coins are precise as to his parentage; see Speight, *op cit.*, *Islamic Culture*, 1935, p. 304.

الموید بنصرالله القوی الغنی

Rev. السلطان ولی الله بن محمود البهنی

Also see Inscription on the 'Ashur Khana at Sagar, *Epigr. Indo-Mosl.*, 1931-32, p. 20, where the parentage is given.

11. نان و جامه *Fer.*, I. 378.
12. She was betrothed to Ahmad in 903/1497 at the age of 4; see previous chapter.
13. Thus in *Fer. Munt.* says that he actually married the Sultanah and put an end to the Sultan's life, but this is not probable as a marriage with the Queen was not possible without her being divorced by her husband.

Tab. 431 says that he married the queen after Waliyu'l-lah's death.

14. Period of rule in *Fer.* Sir Wolseley Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, III, 902, has given the following dates of the last four Bahmani Sultans: Ahmad, 924-927 H; 'Alau'd-din, 927-28 H; Waliyu'l-lah, 928-931 H; Kalimu'l-lah, 931-934 H. The whole of the volume is, however, entirely devoid of footnotes, and in thorny matters like this the reader has to rely implicitly on the subjective predilection of the author. As will be seen I have not contented myself with this, but based my conclusion on the authorities that we possess.

As regards the date of the end of Waliyu'l-lah's rule, Dr. Yazdani says (*Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1931-32, p. 20, footnote 2) that it appears Kalimu'l-lah's 932 H. coins were struck during Waliyu'l-lah's lifetime as a measure of threat when the Sultan seemed restive. But on that very page he deciphers the inscription on the 'Ashur Khanah at far off Sagar which is dated 932 and where Waliyu'l-lah is declared King by Ibrahim 'Adil who is called a "minister" of the crown. We have from Ferishta that Waliyul-lah was dethroned after reigning for three years, and this brings us to the commencement of 932; so there is no question of threat or any discrepancy whatever.

15. *Epigr. Indo-Mosl.*, 1931-32, pp. 19 and 20.
 16. *Munt.*, III, 137, calls him Ahmad's son and *Fer.* I, 376 calls him Yusuf 'Adil's nephew, thus agreeing with *Munt.* But his parentage is patent from his coins that he was Shihabu'd-din Mahmud's son. See Speight, *op. cit.*, plate XIX, opposite p. 305 on which the following reading is given:

Obv. المويد بنضرا الله القوي

Rev. كاي الله السلطان بن محمود البهمني

17. Isma'il 'Adil of Bijapur (1510-1534); Burhan of Ahmadnagar (1508-1554); 'Alau'd-din of Berar (1504-1529); 'Adil II of Burhanpur (1510-1540).

18. *Fer.*, I. 376. Probably the Sultan did not venture to Berar as 'Imadu'l-Mulk had definitely declared his independence a few years before in 935/1529, and thus was probably the first to do so; *Zaf.* 170.
19. The tomb, like that of Waliyu'l-lah, is small and unostentatious with a 'Firozian' pyramid on the top instead of the traditional dome. See Ch. 6, above, for this style. The platform measures 27 feet square and contrasts with the huge tombs of his ancestors.
20. See Speight, *op. cit.*, pp. 275 n. and p. 306. The dates 942 and 943 are clear from reproductions No. 29 and 30 on plate XIX and Mr. Speight is wrong in reading them as 952 H.
21. The Maria Teresa dollar was current in Abyssinia till very recently and was actually being coined there although this Empress of Austria died as long ago as 1780. In the same way Mughal coins with Shah 'Alam's name engraved on them were current in Hyderabad Deccan till 1858 although even the last Mughal ruler had been deported to Rangoon and Shah 'Alam had been dead for 52 years. The inscription was changed at the instance of the British Resident. See Fraser, *Our faithful Ally the Nizam*; London, 1865, p. 304.
22. See Ch. 12, n. 89. For the date of the capture of Mudgal see Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 160, quoting Barros, *Decada IV.* I. vii. c. 1, and Sewell and Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, 245.
23. *Mem. Arch. Survey of India*, No. 49, p. 26, Inscription No. 3251. This as well as the next five references were pointed out to me by Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Curator of the Hyderabad Museum.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 47, Inscription No. 439.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 26, Inscription No. 410.
26. There are many other instances in history when homage was paid to an utterly powerless sovereign. A most interesting instance is furnished in the history of far off Travancore where in 1813 the Rani petitioned the Governor-General to allow her to obtain a robe

of investiture for her young son the new Raja from the Mughal Emperor at Delhi for the coronation of the Raja; see Thornton, *Gazetteer of the Territories under the government of the East India Company*; London, 1854.

27. We have the remarkable testimony of the hold the Bahmani sovereigns had on the minds of the people in the sepulchral inscription over the tomb of Sultan Quli, the so-called first Qutb Shahi King of Golconda. Although the inscription is dated as late as 2.6.950/2.9.1543 it records him simply as "Qutbu'l-Mulk;" see *Epigr, Indo-Mosl*, 1915-16, p. 27. Dr. Yazdani says on p. 19 of the same issue that Sultan Quli "declared his independence" on Mahmud Shah's death, and while interpreting the sepulchral slab says that the words

الغازي لوجه الله المجاهد في سبيل الله

connote his royal position. He ignores that the title used in the inscription is *Qutbu'l-Mulk* not *Qutb Shah*. We are also aware that Sultan Quli was known as Bara Malik practically all his life and "Malik" was merely a title of nobility in those days. Of course Ferishta makes Sultan Quli independent much earlier, i. e., in 918/1512.

28. *Munt.*, III, 139. Dr. Nazim says in his '*History of Bijapur*' which forms as introduction to *Memoirs* No. 49, pp. cit., that Ibrahim 'Adil assumed the royal title after the "disappearance" of Ilhamu'l-lah; but argument is hardly necessary when we are aware of the probable date of Kalimu'l-lah's death.

CHAPTER 14
AUTHORITIES
TABAQAT-I-NASIRI

The author of this work, Ziyau'd-Din Barani, may be said to be our chief chronicler of the period ending in the 6th. regnal year of Firoz Tughluq (1357), and is one of our main authorities for the storm and stress leading to the independence of the Deccan. As his surname shows he was born at Baran, the modern Bulandshahr, and lived from 1265 to 1357, the year of the completion of his great work which he had commenced in 1333. He was a disciple of Hazrat Nizamu'd-Din Auliya and an admirer of Muhammad b. Tughluq whom he accompanied to the Deccan on one occasion. He is therefore an eyewitness of some of the occurrences he describes, though the picture he draws is rather one sided especially with regard to the personality of Muhammad b. Tughluq or of Firoz Tughluq. He had a wonderful memory, and the number of facts and dates recorded is simply immense. He died a poor man shortly after he had completed his book as probably he lost the favour of Sultan Firoz on whom he had lavished his praises. He is our main authority for the events in the Deccan, and if we read his book in conjunction with Isami's Futuhu's-Salatin we are sure to discover a correct measure of contemporary

history as, while 'Isami is a protagonist of Bahman Shah, Barani applauds the acts of the Tughluq Sultan.

FUTUHU'S-SALATIN

This history of contemporary events in the Deccan in the poetic form was compiled by Maulana 'Isami who migrated from Delhi to the Deccan at the time of the establishment of Daulatabad as the second capital of the Empire in 1327 when he was 16. He says that he started composing his chronicle of 12,000 verses on December 10, 1349 and completed it in a remarkably short space of five months on May 14, 1350. It entirely covers the period of the struggle of the Deccan for independence. Having lived under the aegis of the first Bahmani, he is full of praise for that monarch and at times describes him in very exaggerated terms. Like his contemporary Barani he is an eye-witness of the events he records and may be regarded as being for the most part correct. He is full of the most interesting details of the campaigns, undertaken by the leaders of the revolutionary forces as well as the Tughluq armies and various other matters pertaining to the story. He is not so profuse with regard to the actual dates as Barani, but dates may be calculated fairly correctly as he is often very particular in giving the actual time taken by the course of a certain event.

RIYAZU'L—INSHA

The *Riyazu'l-Insha* is the collection of the letters of the Bahmani wazir Khwaja Mahmud Gawan written either in his own name or in the name of his master the Bahmani

Sultan. The collection has not seen the light of print yet,* still it cannot be said to be scarce and its manuscripts are interspersed in European and Indian libraries. The particular manuscript which I have utilised is from the rich library at Habibganj in the Aligarh District, and was lent to me by the owner, the late lamented Nawwab Sadr Yar Jang Bahadur. It is an interesting manuscript for it belonged originally to the late Nawwab Muhsinu'l-Mulk Bahadur, once Financial and Revenue Secretary of Hyderabad and later Honorary Secretary of the M. A.-O. College which developed in course of time into the Aligarh Muslim University. It is written in a good hand and is the best copy of this collection of letters that I have seen. Unfortunately, the last two or three pages of the original, probably containing the colophon, are missing, and a transcript has been added with the result that it is impossible to discover when the particular copy was made.

It is strange that no one before the present writer had utilised the collection as a source book of the history of the Deccan in spite of the mass of information contained in it. Of the two small brochures so far published on the *Khawaja's* life only the late Mr. 'Aziz Mirza has given any account of the Riyaz, but even he has dealt with it only as a work illustrating the ornate style of Persian prose in fashion in the middle of the fifteenth century.

* When these lines were written this valuable book was still in the manuscript form; it has now been edited by Mr. S. C. Husain and printed at the Government Central Press, Hyderabad Deccan. The profuse references in this book have been coordinated with the printed volume.

There are altogether 148 letters in the collection out of which 84 have a direct bearing on the historical atmosphere in which they were written, while the letters to foreign potentates and ministers of foreign states are also of great historical significance. The material contained in the collection throws light on Mahmud Gawan's private life, Bahmani diplomatic relations, military campaigns, factional politics and party animosities of the period. They are couched in highly ornate style, full of similes and metaphors, and interspersed with lines from poems, qasidas and *ghazals* as well as extracts from the Qur'an, the Hadith and numerous Arabic and Persian writers. It is no wonder that the work has been regarded as the 'Gardens of Diction' as its name signifies, rather than a historical source book.

Of the 148 letters 14 are addressed to the ministers of the Deccan from the battlefields, 13 to ministers of foreign countries, 11 to rulers of Indian Sultanates, and 32 to rulers of non-Indian kingdoms. Apart from these, there are other letters to the *Khwaja's* own relatives and men of learning in some of which the writer has included long descriptions of events in the Deccan. The great mass of the collection consists of letters written during the reigns of Nizamu'd-Din Ahmad II and Muhammad III, which, apart from occurrences of purely domestic interest, deal with the Malwese and the Maharashtra campaigns and help us to follow the course of these wars as well as to trace the chronology of the period almost from month to month and day to day.

Here the question naturally arises regarding the authenticity of the *Riyazu'l-Insha* and of its contents. The first thing to remember in this connection is that the authenticity

of these letters has never been doubted either by European or Oriental writers. Then, apart from the internal evidence which is amply forthcoming, there is an irrefutable internal evidence of their authenticity. Among the four letters in the collection addressed to Muhammad II, the Conqueror of Constantinople, there is one, No. 144, (p. 393) the main theme of which is the praise of the Conqueror for his deeds of valour. Now this letter, with certain minor variations, is found *verbatim* in "The Copies of Letters of Muhammad II and Bayazid II to the Shahs of Persia and other Princes and Eminent Men with their Replies, from A. H. 848 to 915," a manuscript of which is preserved in the British Museum, Or., 61. The letter in question is on fol. 45 to 47 with the reply from the Sultan-Conqueror on fol. 47 to 49. The preface to this manuscript contains a note in Turkish to the effect that the *kisahdar* or Purse-Bearer Muhammad el-Qudsi found the book on sale and induced the *Raisu'l-Kuttab* or Head of the Secretariat to purchase it and keep it in the Imperial Archives. This note is dated 1165/1752.

Rieu, the learned compiler of the Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, says that "these letters really form a portion of the vast catalogue of Imperial letters, the *Munsha'atu's-Salatin*, compiled by Nishanji Ahmad Faridun." The *Munsha'atu's-Salatin* was published in Constantinople in two volumes aggregating 1226 closely printed pages, in 1264-5/1857-8, and the letter in question is found on page 258 of the first volume. Although without doubt the main body of the letter in the manuscript and the printed compendium is identical, it is evident that the letter in the printed volume has not been copied from the

collection picked up by Muhammad el-Qudsi at an auction hall in 1165/1752 but, as is categorically stated at the end of the second volume, the material was copied from the complete manuscript in possession of a certain Muhammad Labib. Even the minor differences between the two go to prove that they came from different sources. As an instance might be mentioned that while the Turkish heading of the letter in the B. M. manuscript says; "This letter was sent to Sultan Muhammad *Ghazi* by the writer *Khwaja-i Jahan* on behalf of the Indian King, Muhammad Shah Bahmani," the corresponding letter in the *Munsha'at* is headed: "This letter was sent to the sill of his Imperial Majesty Lord of Victories and battles, Sultan Muhammad Shah *Ghazi* whose abode is in paradise, by *Khwaja-i Jahan* on behalf of Bahman Shah." Although the contents of the letters in the Collection are almost identical, it is clear that if one had been merely a *copy* of the other the heading and the wordings would have been exactly the same. Thus both the external as well as the internal evidence leads us to the conclusion that the two collections are distinct.

We thus know that the letter No. 144 in the *Riyazu'l-Insha*, a work then entirely unknown in Turkey, is identical to a large extent with the corresponding letters in two distinct collections, namely the letter on fol. 45 of the B. M. Collection and that on p. 258 of the first vol. of the *Munsha'at*. The conclusion is therefore irrefutable that the letter is genuine and that the collection in which it is found consists of letters from the *Khwaja* himself. Moreover, we also know that every one of these 145 letters is written with the feelings of the man who was the main actor or victim of the facts

contained in it, full of all his enthusiasm, his discontent with certain arrangements, and with all the details so dear to him. The fact, again, that certain matters are repeated to different persons, and the topography described in them is correct—all this goes to prove that these letters are not merely exercises in diction but epistles from the field of political and military action. They are valuable to the historian not only as an insight into the inner working of the Bahmani kingdom but also furnish him with the actual dates and months of the occurrences, which, when joined on to the years which he might gather from other source give him a very accurate account of the succession of events.

ZAU'U'L-LAMI'

The author of this work, Muhammad b. 'Abdi'r-Rahman a's-Sakhawi, was born in 1428 and lived up to 1497, and thus his life corresponds almost exactly with that of Mahmud Gawan. His work, a'z-Zau u'l-Lami' li ahl-i Qarni't-Tasi' or the Dictionary of Eminent Men of the Ninth Century A. H., a voluminous work in ten volumes, contains a fairly long notice of the life of Mahmud Gawan and quite useful information regarding the more important personalities of the Deccan contemporary with him. Thus the facts which Sakhawi records may be relied upon more than those recorded by later chroniclers. It may be noticed that the circumstances under which Mahmud Gawan was murdered, are recounted differently by Sakhawi from those found in other works. We must, however, remember that he was at Mecca when the news of the Khwaja's murder reached him, and it is quite possible that the details may have been

distorted to a certain extent.

ZAFARU'L-WALIH

This is one of the few books on the history of India in the Arabic language. The author, 'Abdu'l-lah el-Makki, surnamed Hajjiyu'd-dabir, arrived at Ahmadabad, the capital of the Sultanate of Gujarat, in 1555 at the age of 15, and became employed in the household of the nobleman, Ulugh Khan the Abyssinian, four years later. He lived on right up to the conquest of the kingdom by Akbar the Great by whom he was appointed administrator of auqaf or endowments for the benefit of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, a post which he filled up to 1576. His history naturally centres round Gujarat, but he takes a bird's eye-view of India right up to 1605, and has some interesting details regarding the history of the Deccan, although he deals with it only in a secondary manner. He is specially valuable when we have to compare variants in order to arrive at correct conclusions.

BURHAN-I MA'ASIR

This book was written by Syed 'Ali Tabataba at the bidding of Burhan Nizam Shah in 1000/1591, a few years before Ferishta wrote his chronicle. Up till very recently the book was only in a manuscript form and it was parts of this manuscript which were rendered into English by King as 'The History of the Bahmani Dynasty.' It was fortunately published a few years ago by the Persian Texts Society of Hyderabad-Deccan.

The compass of the Burhan is much narrower than that of Ferishta, for the former deals only with the History of the

Deccan especially of the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar and its antecedents. So far as the Bahmanis are concerned, the author seems to have drawn more or less on the same sources as Ferishta; still there is no doubt that he is far more balanced and accurate than his contemporary in his descriptions and review of facts. Thus his geneology of the Bahmani kings agrees with the first-hand numismatic evidence to a much larger extent than the geneology furnished to us by Ferishta, and the names and titles are also more accurate. There is one aspect of the *Burhan* which gives us an insight into the methods and ideals of Bahmani government far more than the purely ornate accounts of the 'infidels' killed in war as depicted by Ferishta. This is contained in the addresses delivered by the Bahmani kings on their accession or else on the appointment of their ministers quoted in the work, in which they set out a kind of programme which they intended to follow.

All this goes to prove that greater reliance may be placed on the simple narration of the *Burhan* than on the flowery and interesting, though at times inaccurate and exaggerated, description of Ferishta. It may be possible that, in the words of the learned editor of the Persian edition of the *Burhan*, the author "might have been somewhat led astray by his enthusiasm for qualities of diction rather than for the historical accuracy of the facts recorded." But if the author of the *Burhan* is guilty of certain inaccuracies, Ferishta is even more; and it is by no means fair to say that the former is "inferior to Ferishta in historical research," as a close comparison between the two would lead us to just the opposite conclusion.

TAZKIRATU'L-MULUK

Rafi'u'd-Din was the author of the celebrated chronicle, the Tazkiratu'l-Muluk. He was born in 1541 and wrote his "History of the Kings" when he was 70. He migrated to India from Shiraz as a merchant and later joined the service of the Sultan of Bijapur. He was the brother of the celebrated personage of Indian history, Afzal Khan, the victim of the 'iron claws' of Shivaji. Rafi'u'd-Din rose to fairly high office at Bijapur, being appointed Master of the Mint and was even sent on an important diplomatic mission to Ahmadnagar. Having adopted Bijapur as his home, he naturally gives details regarding events at that Court, but we find certain interesting details in his chronicle about the Bahmanis as well. There is a mass of detail with a sprinkling of the supernatural here and there about the life of the Saint Siraju'd-Din Junaidi, the preceptor of Bahman Shah and his immediate successors, which are not found elsewhere. There are certain other interesting and intimate details regarding such matters as Mujahid's sobriquet *balwant* and some facts regarding the dress and the manners of the period found in the work. There is one rather significant remark about Sultan Taju'd-Din Firoz which runs counter to the description of that ruler's private life as depicted by Ferishta, and that is the reference in Tazkiratu'l-Muluk that he had only one wife. On the whole, some of the details mentioned in the work are certainly well worth consideration and fill certain lacunae left by other chroniclers.

TABAQAT-I AKBARSHAHI

Nizamu'd-din Ahmad was the author Tabaqat-i Akbarshahi

the first general history of India and the foundation of a number of later works of the same category. He was the son of Muqim al-Haravi who held a high position in the household of Babar the Conqueror and was later raised to be wazir of the Governorate of Gujarat. He was born in 1549 and held several military offices under the Emperor Akbar by whom he was finally raised to the Bakhsheship of the whole Empire. The *Tababaqat* is the first chronicle of its kind and deals with the history of India right up to the 37th year of Akbar's reign, 1593, i. e. the year before the death of the author which occurred in 1594, and ends in a most useful supplement containing the 'Who's Who' of the eminent personalities of the period. The parts relating to the Deccan are rather short but they have their own value in their compactness as well as their correctness such as a correct chronology which often corresponds with other numismatic and other evidence.

HAFT IQLIM

Very little is known regarding the author of this Biographical Dictionary, Amin Ahmad Razi, who was a native of Rai (whence his surname). His family, on the other hand, was well-known and had produced a number of famous personages, such as his own father *Khwaja* Mirza Ahmad known for his wealth and benevolence and his uncle *Khwaja* Muhammad Sharif wazir of Yezd, Khurasan and Isfahan. This Muhammad Sharif is of interest to the students of the history of India as he was the father of Mirza Ghiyas, surnamed I'timadu'd-Daulah, whose magnificent monument is one of the jewels of the Mughal buildings of Agra and

whose daughter Mihru'n-Nisa became the consort of the Emperor Jahangir as Empress Nur Jahan Begam. Amin Ahmad's work, the *Haft Iqlim* or 'The Seven Climes', is a compendium of biographies arranged in order of the parts of the world in which the subjects lived. As the name of the book shows, the author divided the habitable globe into seven *aqalim* or climes, and the biographical matter in each clime is divided into (i) a short geographical and historical introduction of the particular clime and (ii) biographical notes of the eminent personages of the clime under consideration in a chronological order. It is interesting to note that the Deccan is dealt with along with Mecca, Medinah, Bengal and Orissa in the second clime while North India is joined on to 'Iraq, Syria and Egypt in the third clime. The *Haft Iqlim* was completed the same year as the *Tabaqat-i Akbarshahi*, i. e., 1593, and it deals with the Deccan dynasties right up to 1591. It forms one of the chief source books of the *Masaliku'l-Absar*.

GULSHAN-I IBRAHIMI

Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah, surnamed *Ferishta*, was born at Ashkabad in Iran in 1552 and died at Bijapur in the Deccan in 1623. He was brought to Ahmadnagar when still a child but emigrated to Bijapur when he was past 40, taking up service there at the court of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II in January 1591.

His monumental work, the *Gulshan-i Ibrahimi*, generally known as *Ferishta's History*, is certainly one of the most important works relating to the Medieval period of the History of India, and, in a way, its importance is such that

the rest of the chronicles compiled after it may be regarded as a kind of supplement to the main theme. He has given a long list of books, 32 in number, on which he has drawn for compiling his work, of which three, namely Azari's Bahman Namah, Mulla Muhammad Lari's Siraju't-Tawarikh, Mulla Dawud Bidri's Tuhfatu's-Salatan and Mulla 'Abdu'l-Karim Hamadani's Life of Mahmud Gawan, dealt with the history of the Bahmani Deccan, but unfortunately all have been lost. It took him five years, 1606-1611, to complete the book, and this period is none too long for the mass of detail furnished in it.

At its best, however, the Gulshan-i Ibrahimi is a summary of the authorities known to the author, and as practically all of those dealing with Deccan have been lost, one cannot vouch for the correctness of that is before us. At least so far as the history of the Deccan is concerned, it can unfortunately be asserted that he is less critical and therefore less accurate than has often been supposed, and that he lapses into inexactitudes and platitudes which, despite the interest they inculcate in the reader, tend to decrease the historical value of the book. Instances of these are many, but here only a few would suffice to show how careful we should be in aggregating the value of controversial matter detailed by Ferishta.

One of the most glaring discrepancy in Ferishta is his description of the coins of the early Bahmanis regarding the legend, their purity and their consequent melting and their being replaced by the Hons and Prataps of Vijayanagar. Almost every word of Ferishta in this connection stands falsified by numismatic evidence. Coins of the

Bahmanis which we possess also correct a number of mis-statements with regard to the genealogy of the Bahmani Kings. Then his judgment on Humayun's character, as we have shown in the present work, has thrown that king's reputation in the gutter. His habit of exaggerating the facts he relates has often led him to increase the losses of the enemy of the Bahmani State many times whenever its army had to take the field, without much regard to the population of the territory invaded of the actual strength of the rival forces. Thus he makes bold to say after the Tilangana campaign of Muhammad I that 'not a trace was left of the subjects of the ruler of the land.' Another quaint fact related by our author which is an absolutely physical impossibility, is that Firoz Shah had sexual intercourse with as many as 800 women in one night! An extraordinary discrepancy will be found in the fact that Nizam-ul-Mulk is decapitated after his rout at Dewarkonda but somehow finds a place in the Malwese campaign shortly afterwards.

All this is partly due to the fact that Ferishta wrote the parts of his work relating to the Bahmani dynasty in 1614, i.e., more than a century after most of the facts related, and partly owing to a certain desire to create a little artificial and literary gusto. In spite of these natural weaknesses there is no doubt the *Gulshan-i Ibrahimi* contains a mass of facts and figures unsurpassed in the extant chronicles of Mediaval India.

APPENDIX A.

ESTABLISHED CHRONOLOGY

'Alau'd-Din Hasan born	1292
First invasion of the Deccan by the Muslims	1294
Death of Malik Hizhbaru'd-Din Zafar Khan 'Alai	1298
Shaikh Zainu'd-Din Dawud born	1302
Hazrat Gesu Daraz born at Delhi	13.7.1320
Use of artillery at Baza in Spain	1325
Rule of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq	July 1325
	20.3.1351
Daulatabad made second Capital of the Empire	1327
Hazrat Gesu Daraz's first arrival in the Deccan	1327
Harihara, Governor of Bellary and part of the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab	1327
Rebellion of Syed Ahsan, Governor of Madura	1335
The Sultan back in Delhi after Hoshang's rebellion	July 1337
Shihab-i Sultani proclaimed King of the Deccan	1337
The Sultan starts for Daulatabad	31.10.1340
Rebellion of 'Ali Shah and his proclamation as King of the Deccan	1340
Death of Harihara, ruler of Vijayanagar	1343
Kampa, Raya of Vijayanagar	1343-1355
Badr-i Chach starts for the South	8.12.1344
The Sultan proceeds southwards	30 or 31.1.1345
'Aziz Khammar, Governor Malwa	1345
Malik Muqbil, Governor of Gujarat	1346
Nasiru'd-Din Isma'il, First King of independent Deccan	September 1346-12.9.1347

I. THE BAHMANIS OF GULBARGA

1. 'Alau'd-Din Hasan Bahman Shah, Sultan	3.8.1347
	—11.2.1358
Insurrection at Sagar	1352
Prince Muhammad's Marriage	20.6.1352
Rejoicings	20.2.1351-8.6.1352

	Jagir granted to Sujan Singh	4.11.1352
	Mu'tazid, Abbasid Caliph of Egypt	1352-1362
	Rest House built at Mecca by the Sultan's order	1354
	Sangamma, Raya of Vijayanagar	1355-1362
	'Isami finishes his Futuhu's Salatin	14.5.1358
2.	Muhammad I, Sultan	11.2.1358-21.4.1375
	Coronation of the new Sultan	13.2.1358
	Queen Mother starts on a Pilgrimage to Mecca	24.8.1360
	Queen Mother lands at Jeddah	28.9.1360
	Queen Mother's Death	1362
	War with Tilangana begins	1362
	Takht-i Firozah presented to the Sultan	21.3.1363
	Negotiations of Tilangana with Firoz Tughluq reported	1363
	Bukka reigns over Vijayanagar, (anti-dates his rule as from 1343)	1362/3-1372/3
	Battle of Kautalam	20.7.1366
	Seige of Adoni, and use of Firearms	1366
	Jami' Masjid of Gulbarga built	1367
	Death of Shaikh Zainu'd-Din Dawud	27.10.1369
3.	'Alau'd-Din Mujahid, Sultan	21.4.1375-16.4.1378
4.	Dawud I, Sultan	16.4.1378-21.5.1378
5.	Muhammad II, Sultan	21.5.1378-20.4.1397
	Defeat of the Bahmani army at Adoni	1380
	Defeat of the Bahmani army at Kothakunda	1384
	Death of Shaikh 'Ainu'd-Din Bijapuri	1393
	Rangini evacuated	1395
6.	Ghiyasu'd-Din Tahamtan, Sultan	20.4.1397-14.6.1397
	Death of Malik Saifu'd-Din Ghori	21.4.1397
7.	Shamsu'd-Din Dawud II, Sultan	14.6.1397-16.11.1397
8.	Taju'd-Din Firoz Sultan	16.11.1397-22.9.1422
	Timur in India	1398
	Rebellion of the Zamindar of Sagar quelled	15.1.1398
	Bhairon Singh granted jagir of Mudhol	15.1.1398
	First Vijayanagar Campaign	1399
	Hazrat Gesu Daraz returns to Gulbarga	1401
	Dilawar Khan Ghori declares his independence at Mandu	1402

Ma-Haun describes Firearms in Bengal	1416
Second War with Vijayanagar	1407
Observatory erected at Balaghat	1408
The Sultan marries the Princess of Vijayanagar	1408
Hasan <i>Khan</i> marries Parthal	1408
Birth of Mahmud Gawan	1411
Hasan <i>Khan</i> appointed Crown Prince	1416
The Sultan marches to Rajahmundri and Orissa	1417
Seige of Pangal	1418
Battle for the Throne ends	22.9.1422

II. THE BAHMANIS OF BIDAR

9.	Shihabu'd-Din <i>Ahmad I</i> , Sultan	22.9.1422-17.4.1436
	Death of Firoz	28.9.1422
	Death of Hazrat Gesu Daraz	1.11.1422
	Al-Makhzumi completes his work on Arabic Grammar at Gulbarga	24.4.1423
	Al-Makhzumi's death at Gulbarga	1424
	Solha Khamb Masjid built at Bidar	1424
	Change of Capital from Gulbarga to Bidar	1424
	Mahur Campaign	1426
	<i>Khalaf</i> Hasan Basri in the Konkan	1427
	First Malwese War	1429
	Shah Ni'matu'l-lah Kirmani's death	1431
	Second Malwese War	1434
	Doddaya Alla ruling at Rajahmundri	1434
10.	'Alau'd-Din <i>Ahmad II</i> , Sultan	17.4.1436-7.5.1458
	The Sultan's Coronation	6.3.1435
	War with Vijayanagar	1436
	Dilawar <i>Khan</i> in the Southern Maratha country	1436
	War with <i>Khandesh</i>	1438
	Second War with Vijayanagar	1442
	Military Reforms in Vijayanagar	1442
	Nicolo Conti in India	1444
	Death of Deva Raya II of Vijayanagar	24.5.1446
	The Chakan Affair	1447

	Mahmud Gawan's Arrival at Bidar	1453
	Death of Shaikh Jalalu'd-Din Chanda Husaini	5.8.1454
11.	'Alau'd-din <i>Humayun</i> Shah, Sultan	7.5.1458-4.9.1461
	Hasan Khan's usurpation	7.5.1458
	Campaign against the Chiefs of Tilangana	1460
	Kapileshwar takes Tilangana	22.2.1460
	Hasan Khan's Rebellion	March/June, 1460
12.	Nizamu'd-Din <i>Ahmad III</i> , Sultan	4.9.1461-30.7.1463
	The Regency	1.9.1461-1466
	Third Malwese War	1462
13.	Shamsu'd-Din <i>Muhammad III</i> Sultan	30.7.1463-26.3.1482
	Murder of <i>Khwaja-i Jahan</i> Turk and the end of the Regency	1466
	The Sultan's Marriage	1466
	Mahmud Gawan Prime Minister	1466-1481
	Fourth Malwese War	1466
	Western Campaigns; First Phase	1469
	Nikitin in India	1469-1474
	Bahmani interference in Orissa Affairs	1470
	Rajahmundri and Kondavidu conquered	1470
	Purushotam ascends the Orissan Throne with Bahmani help	1470
	Western Campaigns; Second Phase	1470
	Karan Singh of Mudhol helps the Bahmanis	1470
	Raingna occupied	19.7.1471
	Khelna occupied	14.1.1471
	Bhim Singh of Mudhol granted title of Raja Ghorpare Bahadur	22.10.1471
	Crown Prince Mahmud born	1471
	Sangameshwar occupied	13.12.1471
	Goa annexed	1.2.1472
	Campaign ends	10.4.1472
	Western Campaigns, Third Phase	1473
	The Sultan leaves Bidar	15.3.1473
	Death of the Dowager Queen	1475
	Mahmud Gawan's Administrative Reforms	1473
	Rising in Tilangan	1475

War with Orissa	1478
'Adil Khan of Khandesh at Bidar	1478
Second Rising in Tilangana and war with Vijayanagar	1480
The Sultan at Kanchi	12.3.1481
Mahmud Gawan's murder	5.4.1481
Death of the Sultan	26.3.1482
14. Shihabu'd-Din Mahmud Sultan	26.3.1482-7.12.1518
Rule of the Triumvirate	26.3.1481-1486
Saluva Narasimha usurps the Vijayanagar Throne	1485
Death of 'Adil Khan Dakhni, Governor of Tilangana	1486
Murder of Nizamu'l-Mulk	1486
Reconquest of the Maratha Country by Malik Ahmad	1486
Rising of the Old-Comers at Bidar	8.11.1486
Purushotam of Orissa overruns the Godavari Doab	1487
Battle of Jeur Ghat	23.5.1490
Reputed Independence of Governors	1490
Ahmadnagar built	1490
Bahadur Gilani occupies Goa and the hinterland	1491
Qasim Barid Prime Minister	1492
Raichur and Mudgal recaptured by Yusuf 'Adil from Vijayanagar	29.4.1492
Hashim Tabrizi, Gujarati envoy to Bidar	1493
Bahadur offers to lay down his arms	7.5.1493
Bahadur's End	5.11.1494
Dastur Dinar occupies Gulbarga	1496
Battle of Mahendri	1496
Betrothal of the Crown Prince Ahmad	1497
Qutbu'l-Mulk Hamadani made Amiru'l-Umara and Governor of Tilangana	1498
Dastur Dinar defeated by Yusuf 'Adil	1498
Vasco da Gama rounds the Cape of Good Hope and arrives at Calicut	14.5.1498
Osa besieged	August, 1498

- The Sultan reconquers the Raichur Doab from
 Vijayanagar 1503
- Yusuf 'Adil proclaims Shi'ism as his religion June, 1503
- Crown Prince's Marriage 1504
- D' Almeida appointed Head of the Portuguese
 Possessions in India 1505
- 'Ali Barid succeed his father Casim as Prime
 Minister 1505
- Portuguese defeated at the Battle of Chaul
 January, 1508
- Death of Malik Ahmad Nizamu'l-Mulk 1508
- Portuguese defeated at the Battle off Diu
 February, 1509
- Krishna Deva Raya, Ruler of Vijayanagar 1509-1529
- Isma'l 'Adil succeeds Yusuf 'Adil 1510
- Goa occupied by Portuguese 28.2.1510
- Goa reoccupied by Isma'l 'Adil 20.5.1510
- Goa finally retaken by the Portuguese 25.11.1510
- 'Alau'd-Din 'Imadu'l-Mulk succeeds his father
 Fathu'l-lah 1510
- Isma'il Safawi, Shah of Persia 1511-1523
- Reputed "Independence" of Qutbu'l-Mulk 1512
- Krishna Deva Raya's conquest of East Coast
 Towns 1514-1517
- Krishna Deva Raya takes Kondavidu 23.6.1515
- The Sultan retakes Gulbarga from Dastur Dinar 1514
- Defeat of the Bahmanis at the hands of Vijaya-
 nagar 1517
- Khudawand Khan's rebellion and death
 September, 1517
- The Armies of the Kingdom pay Homage to the
 Sultan 1517
15. Ahmad IV, Sultan 7.12.1518-15.12.1520
16. 'Alau'd-Din Shah, Sultan 28.12.1520-5.3.1523
17. Waliyu'l-lah, Sultan 5.3.1520-1526
- Ibrahim 'Adil calls himself a Minister of "King"
 Waliyu'l-lah 1525 & 1526
18. Kalimu'l-lah, Sultan 1526-1538
- Bahadur Shah, Sultan of Gujarat 1526-1537

First Battle of Panipat	22.4.1526
The Sultan leaves for Bijapur	1528
Reputed death of the Sultan	1528
'Imadu'l-Mulk has his <i>Khutbah</i> read for the first time	1529
Ibrahim 'Adil calls himself 'Adil <i>Khan</i> in an inscription at Mudgal	1530
Ibrahim 'Adil calls himself a Bahmani Minister in an inscription at Sagar	1537
Last date of Kalimu'l-lah's Coins	1537
Probable Death of the Sultan at Bijapur	1538
Ibrahim 'Adil entitles himself Sultan	1538

APPENDIX B.

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"The Bahmanis of the Deccan."

ERRATA

(which are very much regretted)

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Printed</i>	<i>Read as</i>
viii	26)		
ix	3)	Tabaqat Nasiri	Tarikh Firoz-shahi
18	3	independent	independence
19	27	emigrants	migrants
30	10	24.4.747/12.9.1347	24.4.748/3.8.1347
75	20	موحود	موجود
„	21	نالے	نامے
„	„	اقصائے	اقصائے
77	7	would	could
„	18	resplendent	resplendent
78	15	Nasa'ihu'l-mulk	Nasa'ihu'l-muluk
86	18	3.3.759/13.2.1358	1.3.759/11.2.1358
102	31	Op. City	op. cit.
104	31	795	759
105	6	proportions	proportion
109	6	miles	yards
127	24	to	of
139	1	22.10.780	22.1.780
151	11	Mann	Munn
157	17	refusal	reprisal
164	13	to	
170	22	5 years and 7 months	5 months and 7 days
171	24	same	some
173	14	published	published
174	4	720	721
„	8	4401	1402-3

185	1	mausoleum	mausoleum of
„	29	Qadandar	Qalandar
189	6	form	form of
„	13	sufficient	be sufficient
190	1.	چند	چند
221	36	29.9.639/17.14.1436	29.9.839/17.4.1436
222	5	I	II
„	27	at	al-
236	10	Qali	Quli
240	1	affairs	affair
251	24	wall	well
271	2	9	8
282	4	Maha'bat	Mahabat
308	6	fund	feud
343	20	on the exact date	exactly one year after
„	21	5.2.886/27 3.1482	5.2.887/26.3.1482
346	21	راہد ان	زاران
„	23	ورنه	ورنه هست
„	24	دفع	جذب
389	12	Almaida	Almeida
407	18	says	say
„	29	Muhammad II	Muhammad III
409	32	Mulkh	Mukh
„	39	56	36½
411	9	لے	بے
„	10	چند	چند
416	12	17 1.929	17.4.929
419	last	obsorbed	absorbed
424	3	Tabaqat Nasiri	Tarikh Firoz-shahi
440	28	16.3.1435	19.4.1436
448	13	Taylor	Taylor
„	16	Introductor	Introduction.
450	9	Jonquiure	Jonquiure

APPENDIX C
GENEALOGY OF THE BAHMANIS

Based on Coordination of Authorities and Numismatic Evidence
[Note: Nos. 1-8 ruled at Gulbarga, Nos. 9-18 ruled at Bidar]

